

The American Historical Review

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ECONOMIC HISTORY

THE last two years have witnessed an unwonted outburst of activity among economic historians. The Economic History Association, established in December, 1940, produced the first number of its *Journal of Economic History* in April, 1941, held its first annual meeting at Princeton in the following September, gave its members a free copy of the Princeton papers¹ in December, and held joint sessions with the historians in Chicago and with the economists in New York last Christmas. Meanwhile a Committee on Research in Economic History, set up late in 1940 by the Social Science Research Council and provided with funds by the Rockefeller Foundation, has planned a program of research projects and got some of them under way. Finally, the year 1941 saw the arrival of the first volume of the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*² and the appearance of Professor Chester Wright's long-expected *Economic History of the United States*;³ each work is a solid authoritative summary of the present state of our knowledge and interpretation of its area and period.

In view of these crowded developments, an examination of the trends and contributions of the last decade and a consideration of work still waiting to be done may not be untimely.

The progress in research during the last ten or twelve years has been modestly substantial without being spectacular. The thirties began with such important monographs as Professor and Mrs. Gras's survey of the economic and social life of an English village from the tenth century to the twentieth,⁴ Erich Roll's study of industrial organization and

¹ "The Tasks of Economic History, and Other Papers: A Supplemental Issue of the *Journal of Economic History*" (Dec., 1941).

² J. H. Clapham and Eileen Power, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. I, *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge and New York, 1941).

³ Chester W. Wright, *Economic History of the United States* (New York, 1941).

⁴ N. S. B. and E. Gras, *The Economic and Social Life of an English Village (Crawley, Hampshire)*, A.D. 909-1938 (Cambridge, 1931).

methods in the factory of Boulton and Watt,⁵ Wadsworth and Mann's examination of the Lancashire cotton industry and trade from 1600 to 1780.⁶ French history was greatly illuminated by Marc Bloch's rewriting of the story of French agrarian developments⁷ since Roman times, while in the United States Kenneth Porter's study of John Jacob Astor⁸ and Leo Rogin's examination of the effect of farm machinery on the productivity of labor⁹ were trail blazers, the first in the writing of business history, the second in the skillful handling of meager quantitative data. In 1932 Professor Nef's study of the British coal industry¹⁰ appeared; in 1933 L. C. Gray's monumental survey of the agricultural history of the South¹¹ saw the light and stole the limelight; in 1934 Professor Earl Hamilton's work on American treasure and Spanish prices¹² came out in book form, and Heckscher's *Mercantilism*¹³ in its English translation was the high spot of 1935. Thereafter the output of books and articles was well maintained until twilight or darkness descended in 1939.

Some large works planned in the twenties (or earlier) reached journey's end during the thirties. J. H. Clapham's second volume on modern Britain appeared in 1932 and his third in 1938,¹⁴ but his published and private expressions indicate that there will not be a fourth. The ambitious international series of studies in price history planned in 1929 by Sir William Beveridge and Professor Edwin Gay was virtually completed by 1939, but publication of some important volumes is shelved "for the duration".¹⁵ The Carnegie Institution series of Contributions to American Economic History, initiated as long ago as 1904, has come to an end, after having given us the well-known studies of

⁵ E. Roll, *An Early Experiment in Industrial Organization: A History of the Firm of Boulton and Watt, 1775-1805* (London, 1930).

⁶ A. P. Wadsworth and J. de L. Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780* (Manchester, 1931).

⁷ Marc Bloch, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (Stockholm, 1931).

⁸ Kenneth Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man* (Cambridge, 1931).

⁹ Leo Rogin, *The Introduction of Farm Machinery in its Relation to the Productivity of Labor in the Agriculture of the United States during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1931).

¹⁰ J. U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry* (London, 1932).

¹¹ L. C. Gray, *The History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (Washington, 1933).

¹² E. J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution, 1501-1650* (Cambridge, 1934).

¹³ E. F. Heckscher, *Mercantilism* (English translation, London, 1935).

¹⁴ Clapham, *Economic History of Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 1926, 1932, 1938).

¹⁵ The studies for Germany, Austria, France, Spain, Poland, and the United States have appeared; but the Dutch volumes and three of the four British volumes have not.

manufactures by V. S. Clark, of labor by J. R. Commons, of agriculture by Bidwell, Falconer, and Gray, and two or three others. The long series on The Economic and Social History of the World War, planned by Dr. Shotwell and his Carnegie Endowment colleagues, has been wound up, after having covered the European countries fairly thoroughly but with scanty attention to the United States, Canada, Australia, and other belligerents whose social or economic life was deeply influenced by participation in the conflict.

Meanwhile some new series were started and have gone far enough to establish high reputations. The Harvard Studies in Business History, carefully nursed by the first Straus Professor of Business History (Professor Gras), are giving us an insight from a new angle into the organization, administration, and operation of important industrial, mercantile, banking, insurance, and retailing firms.¹⁶ A much older brother, the Harvard Economic Series, has more than doubled its length since 1930, and historical monographs have been responsible for over half of this increase. The Carnegie Endowment's new series on Canadian-American Relations¹⁷ began to appear in 1936, and Dr. Shotwell is apparently regarding its general topic as a base from which to go far afield rather than as a boundary fence. Hence he has included purely Canadian studies on transportation, dairying, and lumbering, as well as such international developments as reciprocity, labor unions, railroad relationships, intermigration, and American plants in Canada, and even such wider themes as the North Atlantic cod fisheries. Of sixteen volumes published to the end of 1940, ten are of direct value to economic historians.

Across the Atlantic the Cambridge Studies in Economic History were initiated in 1933 with the provocative attack by H. M. Robertson¹⁸ on the rapidly hardening dogmas about Protestantism (or rather Puritanism) and Capitalism. The subsequent volumes have come slowly and have all been of solid merit. But the most important European event was the completion in 1934 of plans for the first three volumes of the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, with J. H. Clapham

¹⁶ E.g., Porter's studies of Astor, the Jacksons, and the Lees; Henrietta Larson's business biography of Jay Cooke; Professor Gras's history of the Massachusetts First National Bank of Boston; and R. M. Hower's work now in progress on the history of Macy's in New York City.

¹⁷ The Relations of Canada and the United States: A series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, James T. Shotwell, Director.

¹⁸ H. M. Robertson, *The Rise of Economic Individualism: A Criticism of Max Weber and his School* (Cambridge, 1931).

and Eileen Power as editors. Like all its predecessors, the *Cambridge Economic History* was to be the product of a scholastic League of Nations, and as such it encountered mounting difficulties as the thirties went by. In a quietly poignant passage in the preface to the first volume, Dr. Clapham tells of these difficulties: of the Italian who had promised to write one section "but was unable to deliver the manuscript"; of the Dane who replaced him but "unexpectedly died"; of his successor, a Finn, who did manage to finish his assignment before he had to go "somewhere in Finland" to fight the Russians; of the Spaniard who had to abandon his task when he fled to Santander, leaving his notes in Seville; of four contributors whose "whereabouts are unknown"; and of Eileen Power, who died suddenly just after finishing some editorial work on the last chapter and the bibliographies.

Apart from these old or new mass reconnaissances, the thirties saw many notable solo flights over new, wide, and fertile territory. The European map is being redrawn by the work of such scholars as A. P. Usher on medieval and early modern banking, Eileen Power on the medieval wool trade, M. M. Postan on manorial finances and incomes, John U. Nef on sixteenth and seventeenth century industrial developments, F. C. Lane on Venetian trade and shipping, Earl J. Hamilton on Spanish prices and on the period of John Law, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond de Roover on medieval and Renaissance commercial organization and practices, Violet Barbour on seventeenth century Holland, L. A. Harper on the Navigation Laws, Lefebvre, Bloch, Labrousse, Hauser, and others on parts of the French story,¹⁹ E. A. J. Johnson on economic thought before Adam Smith, A. L. Dunham on nineteenth century French industries, W. W. Rostow on British business fluctuations since 1793, and so on. If American names predominate in the above select list, this is no mere trick of memory. More work seems to have been done in the European field by Americans than by Europeans, partly as a result of the more liberal academic system of leaves and partly because the interest generated by such pioneers as Dunbar, Bourne, Ashley, Ely, and Cheyney has been sustained by their successors. A recent "List of Research Projects . . . Now in Progress in the United States and the Dominion of Canada" published by the American Historical Associa-

¹⁹ For a survey of recent French studies of economic aspects of eighteenth century France see Beatrice F. Hyslop, "Recent Work on the French Revolution", in the *American Historical Review*, XLVII, 489-515 (Apr., 1942). Annual bibliographies for France, Germany, Great Britain, the United States, and Canada have been published since 1927 in the *Economic History Review*, and a general bibliography appears in each issue of the *Journal of Economic History*.

tion contains over fifty topics in European economic and social history and is not complete by any means; the list of doctoral dissertations has at least ninety titles that belong to the same field.²⁰

A rough count of the projects and dissertations in North American economic history gives about eighty of the former (against fifty-five in European) and 180 of the latter (against ninety-one transatlantic titles); but if we were to include dissertations done in economics departments, the number of American doctoral studies would far exceed two hundred. From these figures it seems evident that among the older scholars—the projectors—the lure of Europe is relatively strong, but that among the younger men the nearer hills are looking green. The published work of the thirties certainly supports that observation. As evidence one could cite Curtis Nettels's *Money Supply of the American Colonies before 1720* (1934), Robert A. East's *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era*,²¹ or Virginia D. Harrington's *The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution*,²² all illuminating the seventeenth or eighteenth century; the survey of business fluctuations from 1790 to 1860 by Arthur H. Cole and W. B. Smith,²³ the studies of migration by G. M. Stephenson, T. C. Blegen, and M. L. Hansen, the vivid picture of New York Port and its packet ships by R. G. Albion, the agricultural contributions of Leo Rogin, Everett E. Edwards, L. C. Gray, and Rodney Loehr, the new light thrown on land policy and settlement by Paul W. Gates, a whole crop of Southern revisionist studies, and the provocative analysis of capitalism and its ways in N. S. B. Gras's *Business and Capitalism* (1939) or L. M. Hacker's *Triumph of American Capitalism* (1940).

A survey of this work of the last decade reveals at least three general features: more intensive cultivation of old fields, a continuous extension of the area under the plow, and a marked shift of interest and emphasis. The founding fathers of economic history—Ashley, Cunningham, Schmoller, Levasseur, Toynbee, etc.—had been trained in constitutional, legal, and political history. The records most easily available were those of local institutions, such as manors, towns, and guilds, which held courts and made rules; of central governments, which bequeathed statute books and state papers; of regulated or joint-stock companies,

²⁰ *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Universities in the United States and the Dominion of Canada, with an Appendix of Other Research Projects* . . . , Supplement to Vol. XLV, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, No. 3 (Apr., 1940).

²¹ New York, 1938. ²² New York, 1935.

²³ W. B. Smith and A. H. Cole, *Fluctuations in American Business, 1790-1860* (Cambridge, 1937).

which secured charters, framed ordinances, or kept minutes; or of the grievances and aspirations of capitalists, farmers, merchants, and laborers, which evoked reports of agitations, controversies, investigations, orations, debates, and laws. Hence the first generation of the craft wrote "politico-institutional economic history", as Clapham has called it. The institutions and the regulations they imposed made up most of the story. The status of the various social classes and *their relations* to each other comprised most of the rest. Rarely did anyone stop to ask how human enterprise fared; it was enough, at any rate for the time being, to describe the framework in which it operated and the rules it was supposed to obey. The chapter headings became almost as standardized as a T-model Ford: the village and manor, the town, the gild, economic ideas and legislation; the discoveries, enclosures, companies, the domestic system, mercantilism, and the colonial system; the Industrial Revolution, the factory system, poverty and labor conditions, factory acts, trade unions, free trade, and an inconclusive fade-out.

This, in the main, was economic history as taught in England and America forty, or even thirty, years ago. In Germany it was only a little different and was put up in a neat row of boxes called stages or systems. It was an imposing and at times a dramatic series of pictures, in the painting of which there was need for a high degree of historical skill and industry. But too many of the subjects looked like types; some colors were garishly strong; the exhibit was too much concerned with social architecture, fences, and traffic signs; and large expanses of wall were devoid of any pictures at all.

The second generation, led by such men as Clapham, Unwin, Gay, Pirenne, Sée, and Strieder, proceeded to correct some of these defects, and the third generation is now carrying on that task. It has been aided by the appearance of much new material and by the adoption of new tools and techniques. Some of the new material has been of the old familiar kind—state papers, municipal or gild records, manor rolls, extents, inquisitions, and the like; and while a steady stream of catalogues and calendars has flowed from the offices of national and local archivists, there are still many rich discoveries awaiting the young scholar who is willing to don overalls and go hunt in the cellars by himself.²⁴ At the same time new kinds of records have been sought for,

²⁴ One of the most interesting recent discoveries was that of the British income tax returns for 1799-1816, made by Arthur Hope-Jones in the Record Office. When the tax was repealed, parliament ordered all records to be destroyed. Copies had, however, been deposited with the King's Remembrancer, and these were overlooked. Mr. Hope-Jones found them, enclosed in their original bags, and labeled in such a way that their contents

especially business papers. In spite of the readiness with which businessmen destroy their records when they have ceased to be of current value, choice fragments or rich accumulations continue to be discovered with heartening frequency. George Unwin taught his Manchester students to scour Lancashire for the papers of mills and merchants, and he spent many a free afternoon, dressed in a housemaid's apron and armed with a hand brush, in a dusty old factory attic. The Harvard Studies in Business History are being written from the records of firms alive or dead. The directors of some city libraries and local historical societies on both sides of the Atlantic have become conscious of the value of documents left behind by merchants, bankers, manufacturers, and farmers; and the Historical Records Survey of the W.P.A. has located many manuscript collections in which the business or economic historian may profitably dig.²⁵

From such new sources it has been possible to study organization, policies, practices, capital and credit problems, marketing methods, wages, costs, profit and loss; to look at those aspects of enterprise which never provoked an uproar, a report, or a law; to take account of other industries than textiles, other kinds of banking than that practiced by the Bank of England or the First or Second Bank of the United States, other forms of trade than that of companies, and other forms of land utilization than that of the manor. We can now escape from the stereotyped pictures of capitalist, landlord, laborer, or peasant; we can redress the top-heavy obsession with institutions, commercial policy, and regulations; we can even label the features and chart the development of business as a special branch of historical research and teaching.²⁶

In handling this expanded mass of material the economic historian is using new tools, of which the chief are geography, technology, and statistics. Or to put it rather differently, he has become aware of the importance of geographic influences, of the effect of technological methods and changes, and of the need for measuring his masses and movements. One of the most successful recent attempts at a synthetic survey of modern European economic history begins with the assertion:

could be ascertained only by detailed scrutiny. See Hope-Jones, *Income Tax in the Napoleonic Wars* (Cambridge, 1939).

²⁵ For example, correspondence, bills of lading, invoices, evidence on costs of production, terms of contracts, etc., submitted as evidence in cases tried by the Federal district courts and not returned to their owners. The manuscripts of the New York Federal District Court are especially rich in such documents, as well as those relating to customs and shipping cases.

²⁶ As set out, for example, in N. S. B. Gras, *Business and Capitalism: An Introduction to Business History* (New York, 1939).

"The movement of economic history is due to reactions among three distinct classes of factors: physical resources, the technologies developed for the use of resources, and social institutions."²⁷ Throughout that book, movement is measured wherever possible and is closely related to geographical factors and technological changes; and the concluding section, on "The Prestige of Europe in the World of the Future", bases its forecasts on a comparison of the current production of energy in the different continents with the reserves of primary energy which may be tapped as Asia improves its technical equipment and methods. But other periods than the modern benefit from a consideration of economic geography. Once we begin to think in terms of soil, climate, and altitude, we realize that the "typical" open-field-mixed-farming medieval village could not exist in swamps, on mountain slopes, or on bleak, wind-swept moorlands. Since much land from Holland to Russia was low-lying, while the coastal belt from Denmark to Danzig was originally pebbly, sandy, glacial morain, and the climate of western Europe favored the rapid growth of dense forests, our picture of the way many of our medieval forebears lived has to be repainted; we must include shepherds on lonely moors, forest dwellers, amphibians without rubber boots reclaiming waterlogged lands, pioneers hacking down trees to get more elbow room, frontiersmen at work in Europe before their descendants became frontiersmen in America. Certainly one can no longer describe a manor and let it pass as a complete or even an adequate picture of medieval agrarian life.

The study of technology, of the methods employed in the production of commodities, and of financial and commercial practices, has led to important results and revisions. "The problem of the plough" recurs time after time in the first volume of the *Cambridge Economic History* and still more in the realistic examination of the open-field system by C. S. Orwin,²⁸ who approached the problem as a trained agriculturist and practicing land agent. The work done on medieval banking, commercial, and shipping activities has re-shaped our understanding of Mediterranean business organization and methods and made much of the talk about a "pre-capitalistic" period seem like nonsense.²⁹ Eileen

²⁷ W. Bowden, M. Karpovich, and A. P. Usher, *An Economic History of Europe since 1750* (New York, 1937), p. 1.

²⁸ C. S. and C. S. Orwin, *The Open Fields* (Oxford, 1938). A summary of this disturbing study will be found in "Observations on the Open Fields" by Orwin, in the *Economic History Review*, VIII, 125-35 (May, 1938).

²⁹ See, for example, Mrs. de Roover's note on "Partnership Accounts in Twelfth Century Genoa", in *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, XV, 87-92 (Dec., 1941).

Power's study of wool production and sale led her to insist once more "upon the weakness of the conventional view of the Middle Ages in Western Europe as mainly a period of natural economy and self-sufficiency".³⁰ Professor Nef began by digging Tudor coal, went on to see where and how it was used, and found himself in the thick of an industrial revolution in the days of Elizabeth and Shakespeare which was perhaps as significant as that of the days of George III and Wordsworth. And in Canada, the objectivity and realism of the work of Professor Innis and his Toronto colleagues spring from the emphasis on geographical setting and technical details, whether the subject be the production of some staple commodity, the development of a transportation system, or the realization (or frustration) of a political aspiration.³¹

The use of statistics is no new thing to economic historians, but the urge to measure movements, growths, groups, and institutions and to answer such questions as How much? How many? How quickly? or How representative? is perhaps the outstanding characteristic of our generation. We could not hope to escape, any more than could sociology or pedagogy, from the effect of the dawning of the Age of Statistics and the consequent domination of the world by intelligence quotients, blood pressures, calorie counts, immigration quotas, naval ratios, opinion polls, and price parities. For, as Clapham once reminded us, the "methodological distinctiveness" of economic history "hinges primarily upon its marked quantitative interests; for this reason it is, or should be, the most exact branch of history".³² Yet in its early stages it suffered from an overdose of generalizations based on scanty data, drawn from the recorded complaints against some economic or social malaise or distilled from the categories of Marx and the moral righteousness of reformers. Clapham's plea for measurement and dimensions, "in place of blurred masses of unspecified size", was addressed to a craft which was already more than half-converted to the search for quantitative data and was trying to compile figures bearing on such topics as fourteenth century commutation of labor services, fifteenth century cloth production, or sixteenth century enclosures. How vigorously and with what telling effect Clapham practiced what he preached is well known to all students of his three massive volumes on modern Britain. All

³⁰ Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (Oxford, 1941), p. 1.

³¹ H. A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries* (New Haven, 1941), and D. G. Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* (New Haven, 1937), are perhaps the two best examples.

³² Clapham, "Economic History as a Discipline", in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, V (New York, 1931), 327.

too often the search failed to find any statistics; but in countless important cases it was successful in giving quantities, percentages, and measurements of movement which have radically changed our view, especially of the years 1815-50.³³

Other scholars have applied the tape measure or attached a speedometer to other parts of the story, with equally gratifying results. Professor E. A. Kosminsky, for example, has re-examined the English manorial system statistically and finds that even in the area in which that system prevailed, only 60 per cent of the land consisted of domains with villein holdings attached in 1279; the remaining 40 per cent was too large a slice to be dismissed as exceptional and on examination revealed a great variety of tenures and methods of exploitation.³⁴ Mr. H. A. Shannon has compiled vital statistics for the first 20,000 joint-stock companies registered in London and has discovered a terribly high rate of stillbirths and of infant mortality.³⁵ Wages tables increase in number and in range. The studies of price history have given us many series for half-a-dozen countries for at least four centuries, and some fifteenth century trade or production tables are available. Finally, such institutions as latifundia, guilds, trading companies, and labor unions diminish in stature when we measure them against the whole economic activity of their age or area.

The obstacles in the way of accurate measurement, or even of any measurement at all, before the nineteenth century are enormous, and there are many blank places within the last hundred years. Even where figures are found they may not tell the whole truth, and they may not tell any. The temptation to build top-heavy conclusions on fragile figures has not always been resisted; but such sins are not peculiar to economic historians and rarely pass long without punishment.³⁶

³³ Especially concerning the speed at which the factory system advanced, the variety and extent of nonfactory occupations, the material welfare of wage earners, and the attitude of government toward economic and social ills.

³⁴ See especially his articles, "The Hundred Rolls of 1279-80", in *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, III, 16-44 (Jan., 1931), and "Services and Money Rents in the Thirteenth Century", in *ibid.*, V, No. 2, 24-45 (Apr., 1935).

³⁵ H. A. Shannon, "The Limited Companies of 1866-1883", in *ibid.*, IV, 290-307 (Oct., 1933).

³⁶ Some twenty years ago the present writer published statistics of cloth production in England about 1470, based on a considerable number of aulnage returns made by the county collectors of this sales tax. Some years later Miss E. M. Carus-Wilson discovered a far greater number of these returns and by careful examination of them revealed conclusively that the totals, the number of cloths produced by each taxpayer, and even the names of the taxpayers were all fictitious. See her article, "The Aulnage Accounts: A Criticism", in *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, II, 114-23 (Jan., 1929).

The difficulties encountered in interpreting French statistics are well described by Miss

From collecting statistics to drawing graphs is a short step, especially during such a decade as the 1930's. If it be true that each generation must rewrite history in the light of its own experiences, the rewriting since 1929 was bound to reflect the great depression which began in that year. New questions have called for answers. What of the ebbs and flows of profitable enterprise, of fluctuations in the national dividend, in the more remote past? How far back can they be traced? What were the features and causes, whether of the long trends upward or downward, or of the shorter fluctuations which rode on their backs? And what were their political, social, intellectual, and emotional consequences? Thirty years ago Professor W. R. Scott gave us a list of years in which he had found complaints of the decay, "stand", or lack of trade in England.³⁷ This list started in 1558 and ended in 1720, from which date connection could be made with the fluctuations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is now becoming possible to extend the list back to the fifteenth century; we may some day be able to take it into the fourteenth, thirteenth, or twelfth, and at least one economic historian will die happy if he can show that when King Alfred allowed the cakes to burn in the winter of 878 he was trying to remove the surplus of grain which was depressing the Wessex wheat market. For the moment, however, it is sufficient that we are no longer limited to accounts of the tulip bulb mania and the South Sea Bubble. We can speak with considerable confidence about the sixteenth century fluctuations which had their center in Antwerp, of the great financial crisis of 1559, of the British boom which began in 1603 and the great depression which followed it after 1616, of the lean years around 1639, 1659, and 1687, of the depressions of 1763 and 1772-73 which shook the business world from Philadelphia to Amsterdam, or of the economic decline which preceded the French Revolution. The fluctuations since 1790 have been carefully examined by men equipped with the latest techniques of statistics and economic theory. Further, for some parts of western Europe we can now draw at least parts of a graph showing long trends and broad sweeps of expansion, stability, or contraction. Such a chart

Hyslop, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII, 489-515. A good illustration of the difficulties which arise in the interpretation of wages and price series is seen in the article by Hamilton, "American Treasure and the Rise of Capitalism", in *Economica*, XXVII (1929), 338-57, and the criticism by Nef, "Prices and Industrial Capitalism in France and England, 1540-1640", in *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, VII, 155-85 (May, 1937).

³⁷ W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, 1910-12), I, appendix. See also E. F. Gay, "Economic Depressions, 1603-1660", in the *Huntington Library Quarterly*, V, 193-98 (Jan., 1942), for a detailed criticism of part of Scott's conclusions.

for England can be made as far back as the thirteenth century, and it is far from being a straight line climbing unbrokenly;³⁸ but for other parts of Europe the material is not yet available.

The study of short-term fluctuations and of long trends is no mere end in itself. It leads quickly to a consideration of the relation between economic ebb and flow—especially ebb—and social changes, group pressures, popular agitations, government policies, and even intellectual attitudes. Most general historians know how the falling prices, keen competition, and persistent depression of the years 1873-96 helped to foster protection, imperialism, currency nostrums, farmers' movements, labor unrest, trusts, cartels, and collectivist programs or policies. We have all seen the depression of the 1930's overtopple such old deals as free marketing, free foreign exchange, British free trade, and the gold standard and help to build new deals, dictatorships, Dies committees, devils, and doles. And if we could remember the good times as vividly as we do the lean years, we might recall that policies which liberated men from restraint were usually framed and enacted in years when trade returns were booming, price levels satisfactory, and corporation reports radiant. Hence the patient piecing together of business and price curves may lead to a new understanding of the emotions, ideas, demands, events, and policies of the last four or five centuries.

Up to date this has been most effectively done by students of the British story. Professor Postan has shown that when manorial farming was highly profitable during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, landlords insisted on the rendering of labor services by their serfs on the domain; but that when prices and profits shrank in the fifteenth century the serfs were allowed to commute these services for money, the domain ceased to be farmed by its owner, and serfdom waned.³⁹ Dr. F. J. Fisher finds that throughout the sixteenth century "the correlation . . . between trade fluctuations and the various phases of government policy is close enough at least to be suggestive", and that the policies of Elizabeth's reign were formulated under the shadow of the recurring depressions of the third quarter of the century.⁴⁰ Professor

³⁸ The graph can be pieced together from the work of Professors Postan, Tawney, Nef, and Clark. Its general features are great expansion in all forms of enterprise during the thirteenth and most of the fourteenth centuries, stagnation and decline during the fifteenth, and then a general advance, but checked at some points for a time after 1560, at most points from 1616 to 1660, and worried by stationary prices after 1660.

³⁹ M. M. Postan, "The Chronology of Labour Services", in *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, Fourth Series, XX (London, 1937), 169-93.

⁴⁰ F. J. Fisher, "Commercial Trends and Policy in Sixteenth-Century England", in *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, X, 95-117 (Nov., 1940).

Tawney sees the parliament of 1621 as filled with "heavy-footed agriculturists and slim merchants", who have come through five lean years since the boom of 1603-16 collapsed, who are angrily determined that certain policies which have caused their sufferings must be abandoned and that new roads which lead to relief, reform, retribution, and recovery must be trod.⁴¹ Professor Clark⁴² finds in the stable price level after 1660, after more than a century of rising prices, one explanation of the slower pace of overseas exploration and settlement, the search for technical improvements to reduce costs, and new demands for protection, monopoly, and subsidies. The depression of 1659 made London merchants eager to get rid of the republicans and friendly toward Charles II; and the depression of 1686-88 made life less bearable for James II. Or, to take one more illustration, Dr. Rostow has revealed a striking chronological connection between business conditions and wheat prices, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the intensity of dissatisfaction, agitation, and legislative action for the years 1790-1850.⁴³

The economic historian today is thus concerned largely with measurement and movement. At the same time he is less concerned than formerly with concepts, isms, and capital letters. Some of the old labels and symbols have lost their neat simplicity and sharp features of content or chronology. One now talks of the "so-called" Industrial Revolution, puts the term in inverted commas, or tells freshmen that there was such a thing but informs seniors that there was not. The strong lines of the Manorial System have become smudged. The Commercial Revolution can get by only if we emphasize the agricultural and manufacturing changes of the period and insist that we are talking about something which was in preparation for two centuries and in process for two more. Capitalism, as Professor Nussbaum remarked recently, "as a historical symbol . . . does not command universal responses",⁴⁴ for the definitions are legion, ranging all the way from Sombart's lavish combination of spirit, organization, and technique to Professor Gras's simple "system of getting a living through the use or investment of capital".⁴⁵ The date for the beginning or significant development

⁴¹ R. H. Tawney, review of Notestein's edition of the *House of Commons Debates* for 1621, in *Political Science Quarterly*, VII, 602 (Oct.-Dec., 1936).

⁴² G. N. Clark, *Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton* (Oxford, 1937).

⁴³ W. W. Rostow, "Business Cycles, Harvests, and Politics, 1790-1850", in *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, I, 206-21 (Nov., 1941).

⁴⁴ F. L. Nussbaum, "The Economic History of Renaissance Europe", in *Journal of Modern History*, XIII, 527-45 (Dec., 1941).

⁴⁵ N. S. B. Gras, *Business and Capitalism*, p. 1.

of capitalism depends on the definition preferred. To Gras, "pre-capitalism", if there ever was such a thing, lay "in that dim past connected with the missing link", since man has almost from the beginning used capital in some form to help him produce an income. The story is therefore one of change and growth in the accumulation, organization, and administration or use of capital, a matter of stages in the development of the capitalistic system, or of types of organization and operation. To Sombart, Marx, and many others who are largely interested in social controversy and even in moral judgments, capitalism was something that came after a precapitalistic era, perhaps in the fourteenth century or a little earlier or later. Between two concepts so wide apart, agreement on definition and development seems impossible.

Trouble with definitions also helped to render futile and led into a morass of words the famous controversy, touched off in 1905 by Max Weber, concerning the relationship between Protestantism and Capitalism. The debate seems to have expired without reaching a verdict, after having provoked at least half-a-dozen books and a score of articles.⁴⁶ The best that can be said about it is perhaps that "it has greatly sharpened our appreciation of Catholic and Protestant doctrinal history, but it has not in itself promoted our knowledge of economic life in the past in proportion to the considerable effort it has evoked".⁴⁷

A very mixed welcome was given to the greatest attempt of the thirties to clarify a concept—Professor Eli Heckscher's massive study of *Mercantilism*.⁴⁸ If this work was intended to be a definitive survey and interpretation, it failed to achieve that purpose. It started discussion rather than ending it; it raised more questions than it answered; its omissions were as notable as its inclusions; and its pictures of the Middle Ages and of the age of *laissez faire*—between which the mercantilist era lay—were oversimple. It lacked awareness of the kind of state of which it was talking, of the kind of problems the state was creating or facing, of the point on the business curve at which discussion, demand, or decision took place, and of the extent to which political pressures on business were mated with business pressures on politics. Hence while the two volumes contain several good studies of special topics, the topics do not fuse into a policy and a theory governed by any inner harmony and

⁴⁶ For a list of these and for the latest contribution to the debate see P. C. Gordon Walker, "Capitalism and the Reformation", in *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, VIII, 1-19 (Nov., 1937).

⁴⁷ Nussbaum, *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, XIII, 539.

⁴⁸ Heckscher, *Mercantilism*. The Swedish edition appeared in 1931, the German in 1932, and the English, in two large volumes, in 1935. See also Heckscher's article, in which he modifies some of his views, in *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, VII, 44-54 (Nov., 1936).

advocated or applied in a particular time, place, or situation. Even as "an instrumental concept, which, if aptly chosen, should enable us to understand a particular historical period more clearly than we otherwise might",⁴⁹ Heckscher's instrument often fails to cut or pierce. It is too near to being pure copper. An admixture of other concepts, such as capitalism and conservatism, might have produced an alloy tough enough to make a serviceable instrument. Meanwhile for the time being we are left, not with the question, "What was mercantilism?" but with the more serious one, "Was there such a thing as mercantilism?"⁵⁰

If Heckscher failed to convince, he did, however, help to restore a balance which some economic historians, especially English-speaking ones, were in danger of losing. In the wake of a laissez-faire century and in revolt against the pioneers' obsession with manorial, urban, guild, and state regulation of economic enterprise, some of us were swinging over to the study of economic enterprise *in vacuo*. George Unwin was partly responsible for this, firstly by his contention that the actions of governments had been more often destructive than constructive, acquisitive than creative, productive of heat rather than of light and motion; and secondly by his insistence that the creative activities and main-springs of social progress were to be found in the energetic strivings of individual artists, scientists, entrepreneurs, etc., or in the voluntary associations of individuals for common ends. The things that mattered were not tariffs, imperialistic policies, navigation laws, and the like, for these rarely made two blades of grass grow where one had been before, and, if they did, the second one cost more than it was worth.

This attitude, combined with the natural tendency of a specialist to crawl deeper into his own shell, led some economic historians to leave politics and war out of their calculations and almost to concentrate on economic man. If they did look around, it was to see how far economic developments influenced political affairs. This tendency has, however, now been corrected. Heckscher's work has done much to remind us of what rulers were trying to do to and for business. Professor Nef's *Industry and Government in France and England, 1540-1640*⁵¹ has raised the question of the extent to which governments in those two countries siphoned off income which might otherwise have been added to private capital supplies, and it has skillfully explored the influence of state

⁴⁹ *Id.*, *Mercantilism*, I, 19.

⁵⁰ For a detailed critique of Heckscher see H. Heaton, "Heckscher on Mercantilism", in *Journal of Political Economy*, XLV, 370-93 (June, 1937). For a wider "historical revision" see J. F. Rees, "Mercantilism", in *History*, Sept., 1939.

⁵¹ *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. XV (Philadelphia, 1940-1).

interference on industrial development as well as the effect of industrial progress on the form and powers of government. But perhaps it needed Hitler to convince us that the Leviathan is an important factor in the production, distribution, and destruction of wealth.

Scholars in all the fields of history and government affected by the trends in economic history as well as scholars working directly in this field may well ask what future lines of research seem to be developing.

In the fall of 1940 a dozen economic historians met in New York to consider the lines along which research might or should be encouraged. There was general agreement that little could be done on European topics, except where all the needed raw material was available in the United States. Attention had better, therefore, be concentrated on the American field, and this has been the policy of the Social Science Research Council Committee on Research in Economic History which was the eventual outcome of the New York conference.

In preparation for that meeting I asked two of my best students, "What are the most important tasks waiting to be done?", and their reply was, "Make American economic history as good as the best European. Fill in the gaps, and revise the whole spirit and method of presentation." This reply recalled a comment made earlier in the year by a Modern European historian who had just spent a semester helping an American History colleague to teach a class on American democracy at Princeton. "Why haven't American economic historians made their subject live?", he asked. And this in turn brought to mind a judgment passed by Professor Gras in 1926:

From first to last economic history in America has been strong in statistical presentation. . . . What statistics has actually added, or has seemed to add, by way of exactness, it has subtracted in interest and appeal. There has been a woeful lack of controversy in American economic history, so that the whole story of economic progress seems to be cut and dried and entirely objective. The subject has had no intellectual resilience.⁵²

These three opinions may apply to teaching rather than to research, yet since the latter does influence the former, the complaints merit diagnosis. It may be that we, like the British pioneers, are still too much under the shadow of political history and tend to pick our topics from the economic fruits which hang on the branches of that tree. The tariff, currency, land, and antitrust laws, regulations, aids, subsidies, the clamor of discontented groups—these loom large in the story; and the opinions expressed in the political discussions may be accepted as the

⁵² N. S. B. Gras, "The Rise and Development of Economic History", in *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, I, 29 (Jan., 1927).

last word to be said. Perhaps we are too much of historians and too little of economists and do not know what economic questions to ask; or we know too much economics and too little of the historian's technique. Possibly we reflect the affections and phobias of the region in which we have grown up or of the weekly journal of opinion we read; hence we wax sentimental over certain men and movements—the frontiersman, cultivating owner, wage earner, small businessman, etc.—or apply justified condemnations of individuals to whole groups or sections. Perhaps we suffer from trying to fit the American story into the mold of European ideas and concepts; Professor Innis has complained more than once that much of the work on Canadian economic history has been defective through the attempt to fit the phenomena of new countries to the economic theories of old ones, or to give it a bias toward this or that school of political science or history. Yet an equally serious defect may be the rejection of any external molds or concepts and an insistence on our individuality and distinctive difference from the rest of the world, not merely the Old but still more the New. We are not sufficiently different economically from the Old World to escape the consequences of booms, the growth of farm tenancy, and the need for a central bank, farm credit facilities, social security schemes, or strong labor organizations. Failure to compare and contrast our development with that of the rest of the New World has been still more unfortunate. Our maps often stop at the Canadian and Mexican borders, and colonial maps frequently leave out the West Indies and the Newfoundland Banks. Yet a comparison of our story with that of Canada, Australia, or South America would start many new lines of thought and reveal the importance, uniqueness, strength, weakness, or cost of much that we take for granted, *e.g.*, in the problems of land tenure and policy, of exploiting large land areas, of transportation, of immigration patterns and public policies. When a part of the American story is laid alongside that of other new countries, the result in the classroom is usually an outcrop of eager questioning and keen discussion.

If this diagnosis is even partially correct, some remedial measures will suggest themselves. For instance, our rapidly expanding awareness of the rest of the world today might lead, where teachers are available, to the introduction of courses on the economic history of new countries,⁵³ or at any rate to some widening of the scope of courses which have been purely European or American in content. But beyond that more is needed to improve the quality of teaching and research, and

⁵³ Professor Carter Goodrich introduced such a course at Columbia University some years ago.

perhaps the greatest need is for some standard or standards of value to be used in collecting, selecting, and interpreting our material,⁵⁴ some set of tools, some leading questions or guiding thread. Otherwise we are in danger of being buried under the mountain of facts concerning American events, of concentrating on areas where the material is abundant, of neglecting patches where it is scarce, of telling tales that are rich in melodrama but poor in significance, or merely of compiling a mighty calendar. We may talk much about the farmer at his Granger or Populist meetings but say little about him on his farm. We may describe at length the organization and struggles of labor unions but say little about laborers at work, the conditions under which they toil, the factors which determine their productivity, or the real value of the price they are paid for their labor. We may linger long on tariff discussions but never see the realities of foreign trade, or wrestle with currency and banking laws yet miss the actual operation and functions of banking.

In an effort to give point and direction to the story, Professor Wright has taken "the struggle of the American people to raise their standard of living" as his guiding light. His "central and unifying problem" therefore becomes that of "analyzing and understanding the forces and conditions that have been responsible for the successes or failures" in that struggle.⁵⁵ Naturally he has found it easier to analyze and understand than to measure the results in terms of the standard of living, and only after forty-four chapters of the former do we get to the latter. Even then the results are given only at times as far apart as 1775, 1860, and 1930, and some of the changes have little apparent connection with the causes.

Other guiding threads have been suggested, such as the development of capitalism, but these usually do not lead far enough or lead us astray. One thread which might guide us more satisfactorily through the labyrinth is that which follows the story of enterprise in search of income as a means to the satisfaction of certain human wants. The world's work is done because some men begin enterprises or carry on those already started. Economists call them "entrepreneurs", but if we should break off diplomatic relations with Vichy a further good reason may be supplied for translating the word to "undertakers". They operate a farm, run a store, make a better machine or mousetrap, build a railroad, or set out to supply one of the many other goods and services

⁵⁴ E. A. J. Johnson, "New Tools for the Economic Historian", in *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Supplement, pp. 30-38 (Dec., 1941).

⁵⁵ Wright, pp. ix-xi.

mankind needs or can be made to need. They may produce for themselves, but increasingly and mostly for a market. Their enterprise is influenced by geographical factors, by the stage of development of technique, production, and transportation, by the policies of governments, and by old or new ideas which serve as sanction or taboo. They use such factors of production as they need and may try to organize the use of them as economically as possible. They face and try to solve problems of production, credit, transportation, marketing, and attitudes of labor or customers. And at the end of it all, they succeed or fail in securing an income, their weal or woe depending partly on their own qualities, policies, and decisions, partly on the behavior of the business curve, and partly on changes in markets, technique, political conditions, and political costs. Where enterprise is unprofitable, the state must undertake it; when it ceases to be profitable, men seek to bolster prices, cut costs, find better organization or equipment, clamor for state aid, or just go under. If the unprofitableness is acute or prolonged and enterprise is seriously curtailed, lack of income may create a discontent or despair which has far-reaching social or political consequences. When a period rich in opportunities dawns, the tempo of economic life quickens; when one comes to an end, the stagnation is wide and deep.

This approach has at least the merit of bringing out the permanent aspects of economic effort and of asking the same questions about different periods and regions. For instance, in the treatment of agriculture, no matter what the century or country, one can ask: For whom was the crop produced, how large was the producing unit and on what terms did the farmer hold it, how were capital and labor obtained, what were the marketing opportunities, the prevailing methods and equipment, and the effects of famine, war, peace, cost-price relationships, and government policies on the rural standard of life? It can also take stock of short-run as well as long-run developments. The latter may be important, but in the long run we are all dead, and it was little consolation to a laborer, farmer, or merchant in 1818 to know that he was exactly halfway between Professor Wright's standard of living of 1775 and the higher standard of 1860. The all-important, immediate fact was that he was in the throes of a bitter depression, as was his descendant in 1895, halfway between the standards of 1860 and 1930. Finally, this approach can take advantage of some of the tools and concepts provided by the economist, the statistician, and such specialists as agricultural economists and students of production management, marketing, banking, and accountancy.

But of both enterprise and income it is easier to ask the questions

than to answer them. When the Committee on Research in Economic History began to survey the work already done or in progress in the American field, it found so many large gaps waiting to be filled that it was hard to decide where to start. After long pain and travail, it therefore attempted to plan research on three main lines: (1) the role of the entrepreneur in American economic life; (2) the role of government in American economic life; (3) the growth and fluctuations in the volume of the national income. Of these three, the third has not yet been explored, but the second has been fairly easy to plan. Studies are already well advanced on the "climate of opinion" concerning the relations between government and economic effort in the later colonial decades and the early years of nationhood, on the policies which carried through and those which were new, on the emergence of ideas concerning banking systems, and on the policies developed by four states—Georgia, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Illinois—up to about the middle of the nineteenth century. From these initial explorations a concept of the role of government is emerging which does not conform to popular, or even to many academic, views concerning the worship of individualism and *laissez faire*. From them also should emerge a further series of questions to be answered, bearing on the later developments in state policy, on the influence of the Federal government, and perhaps on the activities of country and urban authorities.

The first main topic—the role of the entrepreneur—is more difficult to handle, since its edges are not clearly marked and it does not break down into manageable pieces. Obviously it must include the part played by the corporation, at one end, and by the farmer as an entrepreneur, at the other, with a motley crowd in between; but many of the fields in which entrepreneurs have operated have not yet been examined sufficiently closely to let us see what enterprise involved and required. Realistic studies of foreign and domestic trade, of some industries (especially the newer ones which have developed since about 1880), of the public utilities, of the railroads, of farmers, of the personal service and professional occupations, of Wall Street, of the actual functioning of banks, of business fluctuations, and of labor conditions—all these are waiting to be written. Probably they will have to wait till the more important business of winning the war has been completed. But they are reminders that in the field of American economic history the frontier is far from closed.

HERBERT HEATON.

University of Minnesota.

COMPETITION AMONG GRAINS IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

NEARLY thirty years ago an American economic historian published an article with the piquant title of "Hay and History". In an effort to throw light on the medieval village community and its common interests in pasturage the article pointed out that without pasturage and hay there could be no cattle, no manure, and no maintenance of fertility or protection against erosion of light soils by wind. In the end you stood in imagination amid the ruins of the civilizations of North Africa reflecting on Bottom's remark that "Hay, good hay hath no fellow." This article derives from no such challenging thesis but like it deals with realities that historians overlook who forget that wind, weather, and soil fertility and the relative nutriment, prices, and availability of grains are of fundamental importance in the economy of earlier days as well as in our own. Perhaps the fact that the writer, while interested in classical antiquity, has also been concerned with agricultural economics and thereby in turn not indifferent to those subjects labeled in college catalogues as agronomy, soil physics, and climatology may serve as his excuse for dealing with a topic easily and comprehensibly overlooked by any one and therefore all of the specialists in these several disciplines.¹ His hope is that a discussion of the prosaic problem of grains in the consumer markets of the ancient world will interest scholars of the history of the Mediterranean area in a time when its economy and its people were highly concerned with agriculture and its cereal products.

ELIMINATION AMONG THE GRAINS

There are eight grains which play a major role as human food in the world: wheat, rye, barley, oats, corn, millet, sorghum,² and rice, but most of them did not in antiquity figure prominently in the Mediterranean region, with which this paper is concerned.

Corn was unknown in the Old World before America was discovered.

¹ This paper was prepared while the writer was a staff member of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. Mr. H. Goldenstein of that bureau helped to prepare the paper for the press.

² Millet and sorghum, correctly speaking, are one grain.

In general, moreover, it cannot be grown in the Mediterranean climate without irrigation because the summers are too dry and in winter, when there is sufficient moisture, the temperatures are too low. Sorghum was known to the nations around the Mediterranean before the Christian Era, but it needed irrigation, and in none of these countries was it found profitable to devote to it a portion of the limited area permanently irrigated. Many centuries later, when the proportion of land which could be irrigated in the summer had been greatly increased in Egypt, sorghum found a certain place there, mainly in upper Egypt. Rice was introduced in Babylonia many centuries before our era and from there penetrated farther west. But this grain, too, gained a stronger foothold in the Mediterranean region only after the permanently irrigated land was greatly extended, a process which occurred well after the classical period had passed. Millet would not have been grown in very large quantities in the cold season even if the temperatures had been favorable. A low yielder, with some exceptions, it proved adapted only as a secondary crop.

The principal assets of rye are its winter-hardiness and, generally, its ability to withstand hardships of any kind, particularly poor soil and considerable soil acidity. The Mediterranean climate is sufficiently warm for all small grains to be grown as fall-sown crops, and the prevalent type of poor soil is alkaline rather than acid. Hence, rye could never obtain a strong foothold in the Mediterranean Basin.

The situation was somewhat more complicated with regard to oats. As a weed of the grain fields, oats were probably known in Egypt thousands of years before our era. Yet they failed to establish themselves as a cultivated crop in the Mediterranean region almost up to the end of classical times, probably owing to the difficulty of developing varieties worth cultivating.

Thus, six of the eight important grains were either not grown at all in the classical world or, like millet, were grown only as a secondary crop and merely in a portion of the region, or, like oats, were introduced only at the end of the period. There remain, therefore, only two grains, barley and wheat, and the struggle between these two for the acreage and consumer is, in fact, our central problem.

It is true that the wheat with which barley had to compete was not everywhere and not throughout the whole period the same type of grain we commonly call wheat, but it was wheat in the broad sense that includes both the naked and hulled subspecies of it.³ These two types

³ Naked grain is that in which the kernels fall out of their hulls in threshing; corn and our common wheat are naked, but naked barley and oats also are grown in small

also competed with each other, but this competition was on a higher plane than the one between barley and wheat. Moreover, the rivalry between naked and hulled wheat should probably more correctly be considered not as a competition between different commodities but as a development of the same commodity from a less efficient to a more efficient form.

NATURAL CONDITIONS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION

To compare the agriculture of ancient Rome or Greece with that of Great Britain, Germany, or France is likely to lead one astray because of the peculiarities of the Mediterranean region in climate and soil. This distinctly Mediterranean climate includes a great part of the Iberian Peninsula, Italy south of the Po Valley, all Greece of importance in ancient history, and most of North Africa and the Near East.⁴ The major climatic difference is that while in western and central Europe precipitation falls mainly in the summer, in the Mediterranean Basin the summer is dry and the winter is the rainy season. In general, only those grains can be grown in the region without irrigation for which the winter and early spring temperatures are sufficiently high. These are too low for sorghums and, with some exceptions, for millet and corn. Important differences between the Mediterranean region and the other European lands in the Temperate Zone exist also with reference to the growing of small grains. While a large portion of Europe north of the three specified Mediterranean peninsulas permits fall-sowing only of wheat and rye, all small grains, even oats, which are most susceptible to cold, can be grown in all Mediterranean countries as fall-sown crops. North of the peninsulas the competition among the small grains is mainly between fall-sown wheat and rye as against spring-sown barley and oats. In the Mediterranean Basin all these grains compete on an equal basis so far as the growing season is concerned.

Thus, the differences in the seasonality of precipitation between the Mediterranean region and other parts of the Temperate Zone entail important divergencies in the competitive power of the several grains. But such divergencies are also observed within the Mediterranean Basin itself owing to large variations in the total annual precipitation and in its seasonal distribution. The western portions of the south

quantities. In the hulled grains the kernels remain enclosed in their hulls in threshing; common barley and oats are the typical hulled grains, but there are also several subspecies of hulled wheat.

⁴ O. J. R. Howarth, *The Mediterranean* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 31-33.

European peninsulas receive much more moisture than the eastern portions because these peninsulas are all mountainous and westerly winds come more frequently than easterly winds during the rainy season. The eastern coast of Greece, for example, receives only around 20 inches annually, while a large portion of its Adriatic coast gets more than 40. The difference in the amount of moisture is smaller in the Italian peninsula, but even there it amounts to 6-7 inches per year. Another important circumstance is that the total precipitation declines, and the summer drought becomes longer, from north to south. The dry spell lasts for only two to three months in Rome, but it continues for nearly half a year in Sicily.

The fact that in Greece the scene of the great historical developments was located on the eastern side of the peninsula, while the reverse was true of Italy, seems not to have received due attention by students of ancient history. Athens, moreover, is located about 4 degrees nearer to the equator than Rome. It receives on an average only 15 inches of moisture per year, while Rome gets about 35 inches and the fall is more evenly distributed over the year. This difference was of paramount importance for the competition between the several grains for acreage and, consequently, for consumers in the two great centers of classical antiquity.

The specific competitive conditions for the several grains in the Mediterranean region due to the climate are to a large extent augmented by peculiarities of the soil. Typically the Mediterranean lands have at best soils of average productivity. Immense stretches of land are occupied by mountains and steep hills, with a large proportion of skeletal soils. Except for those developed on river alluvials, the soils tend to be very shallow, poor in humus, and of small water-holding capacity; they also frequently show a marked deficiency in phosphoric acid. Relatively large proportions of Mediterranean soils are either planosols or saline.⁵ The only important advantage that the typical Mediterranean soils possess over the strongly podsolized (bleached) forest soils which are widespread in the northernmost portion of the Temperate Zone and which are among the poorest soils of this zone is that even those Mediterranean soils which are developed from noncalcareous parental material are seldom more than slightly acid. The soils developed on or from limestone—the typical parental material in the Mediterranean region—are, with minor exceptions, alkaline, although some are more

⁵ Planosols are soils underlain near the surface by a cemented or compact layer which cannot be penetrated by water or roots.

alkaline than is good for the crops. The soils of Attica and of certain other Greek areas prominent in ancient history were of the poorest; Sparta had some good soil, but it was inconsiderable.

As a contrast to the at best moderate quality of the bulk of Mediterranean soils, the richness of the soil in areas of more or less recent volcanic eruptions is the more conspicuous. The volcanic soils are very unevenly distributed over the region. The mainland of Greece has practically none, while the area around Rome, especially Campania but also Latium and southern Tuscany, have a great deal.

Thus, a comparison of the natural conditions in the two principal scenes of ancient history, Attica and the area around the city of Rome, shows that the former had rather poor, mostly alkaline soil and little precipitation, while the latter was endowed with large stretches of good and in part proverbially rich soil and a precipitation about twice as great.

CONSUMERS' PREFERENCE AND ECONOMIC NECESSITY

An authority on ancient civilization, Moritz Voigt, computed that the per capita requirement of land for the production of cereal food increased four and one half times in ancient Rome because of the preference of consumers for naked wheat as against emmer, also a wheat but a hulled one.⁶ This estimate is merely an outstanding example of the exaggerated significance regularly assigned to consumers' preference in studies of the economy of the classical world. Similarly, a well-known student of the history of cultivated plants, Johannes Hoops, wrote that the Romans in their later history grew barley chiefly for horse feed, because they did not care to eat it.⁷ The statement that the Romans disliked barley is formally correct, but it is misleading, nevertheless, because it implies that there were nations which liked barley and that liking or disliking was the decisive reason why the Romans grew little barley for food. The ancient Greek writers who touched upon the use of wheat and barley for food felt it necessary to stress the superiority of wheat. Medical authorities such as Galen and Dioscorides, dramatists such as Sophocles and Aristophanes, and philosophers such as Aristotle—all were agreed on this point.⁸ Yet barley was the staple

⁶ "Über die *bina iugera* der ältesten römischen Agrarverfassung", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, New Series, XXIV (1869), 52-71.

⁷ *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* (Strasbourg, 1905), p. 373.

⁸ Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, trans. by Charles Burton Gulick, III (London and New York, 1928), 43, 109f, 110f, 115c; [Aristotle] *Problems*, XXI, trans. by H. S. Hett

food of the Greek masses all during the classical period. A situation like that in classical Greece still to a large extent prevails in the world. Outside of the Far East wheat is preferred to all other grains as the principal cereal food; yet less wheat is consumed for this purpose than other grains.

Aside from the intensity of preference or objection of consumers, the kind of grain used for food depends on (1) the amount which has to be sacrificed or can be saved by using one grain rather than another, and (2) the extent to which consumers are in a position to afford the sacrifice necessary in choosing between grains. The first item, in turn, may be broken down into two factors: the relative nutritive value of the different grains and their comparative costs.⁹ Applying these criteria, let us explain the general competitive relation of wheat and barley in a few words, because the competition between these two grains was the most important one in the classical world.¹⁰

Wheat of average quality may be conservatively assumed to have a nutritive value of 10 per cent more than barley of average quality in terms of weight and about 35 per cent more in terms of volume.¹¹ On the other hand, barley is a more prolific crop than wheat and in general costs less to produce. Wheat may outyield barley where it can be grown as a winter crop, while the climate is unsuitable for winter barley, but

(Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1926). Aristotle is not actually the author of the *Problems*, but it is undoubtedly the product of the Peripatetic School.

⁹ Relative prices and costs are, of course, not unrelated factors. The amount which consumers are prepared to sacrifice affects ratios between prices, costs, and amounts produced.

¹⁰ For details on competition among grains under contemporary conditions the reader is referred to the writer's *Competition among Grains* (Food Research Institute, Stanford University, 1940).

¹¹ Unless otherwise specified, all comparisons are in terms of weight. The ancients used measures, and this fact misled many ancient writers in their calculations and, even more frequently, their modern colleagues. Gustave Glotz, one of the best-known students of Greek history, and after him many others, created confusion by assuming that in ancient Greece a two-volume unit of barley was equivalent, or was considered equivalent, in nutritive value to a one-volume unit of wheat. See Glotz, "Le prix des denrées à Délos", *Journal des savants*, New Series, XI (Jan., 1913), 20; Fritz Heichelheim, "Sitos", Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supp. VI (rev. ed., Stuttgart, 1935), pp. 819-92, and *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen der Zeit von Alexander bis Augustus* (Jena, 1930), p. 98; and J. A. O. Larsen, "Roman Greece", in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. by Tenney Frank and others, Vol. IV (Baltimore, 1938). Part 3, p. 348. But the usual price relationship between barley and wheat was a two-volume unit of barley equal to a one-volume unit of wheat. Since wheat was preferred to barley by the consumers, nobody would have used barley if two units of it were needed to replace one unit of wheat. Yet it was the poor, for whom the saving was particularly important, who were the principal consumers of barley.

even in this case the cost of production of wheat is likely to be higher. Where barley can be grown as a fall-sown crop, as in the Mediterranean region, it probably always yields more than wheat, and its cost is correspondingly less. This advantage of yield in favor of barley varies with soil, climate, and cultivation. On rich, moderately acid soil with considerable precipitation and very intensive cultivation, the excess in yield in favor of fall-sown barley may be as small as 10 to 15 per cent, but on poor soils, especially poor alkaline soils with little precipitation and under extensive cultivation, the additional yield of barley rises to 50 per cent or more. Correspondingly, the cost of producing wheat is larger than that of barley by from 10 to 15 to about 35 per cent.

A comparison of the relationships in nutritive value and costs of production between wheat and barley shows that under conditions least favorable for barley practically no financial sacrifice is involved in using wheat rather than barley for food. Wheat, as indicated, costs 10 to 15 per cent more than barley to produce, but it also has a nutritive value about 10 per cent higher. Under production conditions most favorable for barley, however, the sacrifice which the consumer has to make in choosing wheat is equivalent to about 25 per cent.

It is likewise incorrect, though frequently done, to stress the preference of Greek and Roman consumers for wheat as the only reason for its dominant position in the international grain trade of the classical world. Their preference was probably not greater than that of the other peoples, but their ability to afford wheat was. Moreover, of great importance was the fact that the price difference between wheat and barley in terms of percentages declines with the increase in marketing costs. What on the surface seems to have been greater preference actually was largely the prosaic fact of lesser sacrifice.

NAKED WHEAT VERSUS BARLEY

In production. Barley has a shorter growing period than wheat and ripens earlier. Also it needs less water, but the optimum saturation point of the soil with moisture is less for barley than for wheat, and barley is more imperiled by an excess of soil moisture. Barley is most susceptible among grains to excessive soil acidity and least susceptible to soil alkalinity and salinity. It is an early starter and, especially in the case of the more robust six-row varieties, is less in danger of damage by weeds than wheat. Typically both barley and wheat need nutrients in readily available form; but barley varieties which make a fair progress with a small supply of such nutrients have existed since time imme-

morial, while wheat has displayed much less of such adaptability. Barley, on the other hand, needs a milder climate than wheat to be sown in the fall.

A large part of the Mediterranean region meets these specific requirements of barley in an ideal way. There are few, if any, areas in the world where the superiority of barley over wheat in yield is as great as on the very shallow and generally rather poor, alkaline soils of those portions of northern Africa and Palestine that receive little precipitation but grow crops without irrigation. Barley there probably yields as much as 50 per cent or more in excess of wheat. Northward, the lengthening of the rainy season reduces this superiority of barley; and a shift into areas with greater amounts of moisture has the same effect. Nevertheless, on the alkaline soils of eastern Greece and on those of the Aegean islands which receive little moisture, barley may well be expected to yield approximately 40 per cent more than wheat, and on the same soils in Sicily the superiority of barley in yield is hardly less than 30 per cent. But on volcanic soils with a moisture saturation optimal for wheat, barley is unlikely to outyield wheat by more than 15 to 20 per cent, especially if the reaction of the soil is moderately acid.

In ancient times the superiority of barley over wheat in yield may have been somewhat larger than stated above, because improvements in agricultural techniques—except liming, which is seldom important in the Mediterranean region—have since strengthened the competitive position of wheat versus barley. Specifically, naked wheat is likely to have profited more than barley from seed selection and breeding.

Under these conditions it is not at all surprising that barley played a very important role in the grain production of the classical world. It was undoubtedly by far the predominant crop in Greece, most Aegean islands, and large parts of western Asia. Barley, furthermore, was very likely an important crop on the nonvolcanic soils of Africa,¹² Sicily,¹³ Sardinia, southern Italy, and in most of Spain. Finally, it oc-

¹² In the Roman sense, *i.e.*, North Africa, excluding Egypt.

¹³ J. Carcopino believed that in the whole of Sicily the yield of barley per acre was, at most, as much as that of wheat in terms of volume or about 17 per cent less in terms of weight ("La Sicile agricole au dernier siècle de la République romaine", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, IV [1905], 155-56). The price of barley per measured unit in Sicily was only half that of wheat, and, with an equal yield, the return per acre of barley would have been approximately as small. With this price relationship and Carcopino's yield relationship, the Sicilians should not have grown barley—yet they grew a great deal. The price relationship was a fact, but the yield relationship was merely Carcopino's assumption based on the erroneous idea that barley in Sicily returned the amount seeded only as many times as wheat. The yielding power of barley relative to that of wheat is rather commonly underrated by students of classical history, and this leads to

cupied a substantial proportion of the grain acreage irrigated by flooding in Egypt¹⁴ and Babylonia. Moreover, there is reasonable certainty that the losses of barley production in relative importance were not very large during the millennium roughly from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. They may have occurred mainly in areas growing grain for export or because of the Roman demand for tribute.

In consumption. The consumption of barley for food was considerably smaller in ancient times than its net production. Barley was the principal feed grain not only in areas where natural conditions were particularly favorable for growing it but over the whole Mediterranean region. As a feed barley is worth at least as much as naked wheat, pound for pound; a slight superiority in yield, therefore, sufficed to ensure that no naked wheat was grown for feed. Somewhat more competition in the use for feed was experienced by barley from hulled wheat. Barley gained, therefore, from the rapid disappearance of hulled wheat during the classical period but lost a little owing to the introduction of oats.

The consumption of barley for food, although considerably smaller than its net production, was also large, primarily in areas where barley yielded 25 per cent or more in excess of wheat. Wheat may have become the everyday food of the rich in some of these areas during the period under review, but such consumers mostly constituted a small proportion of the total population. The broad masses consumed much wheat only in those areas favorable for barley production which, like Athens, relied heavily on imports from distant areas. Before the necessity of grain imports had arisen, Athenians were consumers of barley; barley, moreover, also probably regained its former role to a considerable extent as soon as the glorious period of Athens was over. The people living immediately outside the city probably did not consume much wheat even at the time of Athens's glory; they ate what their soil produced, which was mostly barley.¹⁵

an undervaluation of the amounts produced and generally of the part barley played in classical antiquity.

¹⁴ The recently published papyrus 57030 B (A. E. R. Boak, "Some Early Byzantine Tax Records from Egypt", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LI [1940], 57) may be correctly interpreted as showing that toward the end of the classical period the quantity of barley grown at Karanis, western Egypt, was still not much smaller than that of wheat. The proportion of barley in most other Egyptian areas, it is true, is likely to have been less than at Karanis, but the difference was hardly very large. The common assumption that Egyptian grain production at that time consisted almost exclusively of naked wheat must be wrong.

¹⁵ The self-sufficiency of the Athenian peasant is indicated by Aristophanes in

The stimulus to use barley for food was obviously less strong in areas where the excess in barley yield over wheat was less than 20 to 25 per cent. Moreover, the areas where barley greatly outyielded wheat were those with poor soil and unfavorable climate and, consequently, with low yields of either grain. Some of the areas, however, where the superiority of barley in yield was much less had good soils and more favorable climate and hence obtained relatively high yields of both barley and wheat. Here the greater productivity of the soil made it easier to afford the sacrifice involved in the use of wheat. The volcanic soils of the Roman area and its relatively favorable climatic conditions must have played a considerable part in bringing about the predominant use of wheat for food in Rome even when no imports from distant regions were needed, while the low yields of any grain obtainable in Attica are likely to have contributed to the large food use of barley in that area.

International trade, marketing costs, and price relationship. Naked wheat undoubtedly far predominated in the international grain trade in classical antiquity—but probably to a somewhat lesser extent than is commonly accepted. Owing to the assignment of an excessively great role to preference for wheat, the scanty and mostly ambiguous evidence on the international grain trade in the classical period frequently is interpreted in such a way that practically no place is left in that trade for any grain other than wheat.¹⁶ In such general form the interpretation seems to be incorrect. There was apparently a significant difference between Greece and Rome as grain importers. It is rather likely that Athens imported wheat exclusively or almost exclusively, at least through commercial channels, while barley made up a substantial proportion of the imports of Rome.

Achaeans, trans. by B. B. Rogers (Loeb's Classical Library, London and New York, 1930), ll. 33-36.

¹⁶ Unfortunately, most ancient sources in discussing grain imports and consumption did not specify the grains involved but used the terms *σῖτος* (Greek) or *frumentum* (Latin). Since the second or third century A.D. these words have generally meant wheat, but previously they had signified cereal grains or food cereal grains in general. Yet it has become almost customary to translate or interpret these terms as having meant naked wheat in all statements of classical writers on imports or exports. See, for example, Ellen Churchill Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region* (New York, 1931), pp. 368-71. M. I. Rostovtzeff in his basic study of the grains in the Roman Empire, "Frumentum", *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie*, VII (rev. ed., Stuttgart, 1912), 127, carefully interpreted the word *frumentum* in the correct sense; moreover, aware of the great difficulties involved, he did not feel it wise to raise the question as to the specific grains of which the imported *frumentum* consisted.

But this dominant role of naked wheat in international trade was due not only to the great liking for wheat in deficit areas but also, and perhaps primarily, to the disproportionately high marketing costs of barley and hulled wheat relative to those of naked wheat. The reasons are the great bulk of barley and especially of hulled wheat and the high marketing costs in classical antiquity.

The typical price of barley in areas of surplus production favorable for growing barley—well in line with production costs—was one half of the wheat price in terms of volume. With such a price relationship, and assuming total marketing costs of wheat equal to half the wheat price in the deficit area and marketing costs of barley equivalent to 75 per cent of those of wheat in terms of volume, exactly half of the saving which could be made in the surplus area by eating barley rather than wheat was lost to the consumer in the deficit areas through the disproportionately high marketing costs of barley.¹⁷

There is sufficient evidence to believe that barley cost about half as much as wheat in terms of measured units in Athens and Delos.¹⁸ It is generally accepted that this same price relationship prevailed in Rome, although no price data are available.¹⁹ As proof the price relationship in Sicily is usually given. But owing to the disproportionately high marketing costs of barley, the very fact that the barley price was half the wheat price in Sicily makes it probable that in Rome the price of barley was more than half that of wheat. There is some supporting evidence, moreover.

One cannot, of course, accept as gospel every word of Pliny the Elder. His statement that wheat was the most prolific grain has caused much mischief in the writings of persons not specialists in agriculture. In another place Pliny compared in detail the conditions of growing barley and wheat—apparently in the area around Rome—and said that the provident agriculturist grows only as much wheat as may be required for his food.²⁰ But we know that in this area the superiority of

¹⁷ Marketing costs of barley equivalent to 75 per cent of those of wheat in terms of volume are an arbitrary assumption. They might have been slightly more favorable for barley. But the total marketing costs from very distant surplus areas also may have been higher than the price of wheat in the surplus areas; they certainly were higher in the Athenian period.

¹⁸ Auguste Jardé, *Les céréales dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris, 1925), p. 182; Heichelheim, in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, Supp. VI, pp. 887-90, and *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen der Zeit von Alexander bis Augustus*, pp. 128-34.

¹⁹ Frank, "Rome and Italy of the Republic", in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, I (Baltimore, 1933), 98.

²⁰ *Naturalis historia*, XVIII, 79 (ed. Teubner).

barley over wheat in yield was relatively moderate. Barley in the Roman area would not have been grown for the market in preference to wheat unless its price was considerably higher than half the wheat price in terms of measured units. At half the wheat price, barley would have been negligible as a cash crop.

A substantial difference in the price relationship between barley and wheat in Greece and Rome seems to have been well in line with the different natural conditions of the two areas. Conditions in Greece were particularly adapted to barley, and a great deal of it was produced there. Domestic production, indeed, far exceeded the quantities needed to satisfy such uses of barley as for feed or porridge, in which the competitive position of barley was strong; much barley must have been pressed into use as the principal cereal food—and hence had to be cheap in relation to wheat. There was no room, therefore, for imports of barley into Greece. Since barley was not imported regularly through commercial channels, the disproportionately high marketing costs of this grain could not have prevented barley in Greece from being as cheap in relation to wheat as in most grain-surplus areas, and cheaper than in Egypt.²¹ Greece was deficient in wheat but not in barley.

Natural conditions in the area about Rome were much less favorable for barley production than in Greece. The demand for barley which justified its relatively higher price, mainly the demand for use as feed, could not have been met by the small local production. Barley had to be imported. Thus all factors—the character of the demand, justifying a relatively higher price, the relatively higher cost of production in the area about Rome owing to a less favorable yield relationship, and the relatively higher marketing costs of barley brought in from more or less distant producing areas—combined to make barley more expensive in relation to wheat in Rome than in the surplus areas or in Greece. Rome was deficient in both wheat and barley.

NAKED WHEAT VERSUS HULLED WHEAT

Hulled wheat undoubtedly was far more important than naked wheat in the Mediterranean region at the beginning of the classical period but became relatively insignificant, or almost so, by the end of the period. Was the preference of consumers the decisive factor in this shift, or were other factors primarily responsible?

²¹ While the typical price relationship in surplus areas was in the ratio of 1:2, barley in Egypt used to fetch 60 per cent of the price of wheat in terms of measured units. See Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen der Zeit von Alexander bis Augustus*, pp. 118-22.

Of the three subspecies of hulled wheat, einkorn, emmer, and spelt, only the first two were significant in classical antiquity. Einkorn is a very poor grain qualitatively and also a very poor yielder. Its strength lies in the fact that it makes few demands as to growing conditions. This advantage proved insufficient, however, to offset the disadvantages. In parts of Asia Minor, but nowhere else, einkorn may have been important at the beginning of the period under investigation. By the end of this period, even there it had probably disappeared.

Spelt is a hulled wheat very similar to common and especially to club naked wheats. It produces a fine white flour, particularly adapted for pastry but used also for bread production, although such bread becomes stale more quickly than bread from common wheat. A few decades ago it was rather generally accepted that spelt was the hulled wheat that was widely grown in ancient times. Some authors are still of the same opinion, while others prefer to avoid the disputed problem by using the word spelt in the wider sense in which it includes all three enumerated subspecies of hulled wheat. Numerous excavations in Egypt, the expedition into Abyssinia by Nikolai Vavilov,²² the investigation of the hulled wheats of Babylonia by Friedrich Hrozný,²³ the studies of Egyptian and other hulled wheats by August Schulz²⁴ and Gradmann²⁵—these and a great deal of other evidence leave no doubt that the hulled wheat widespread in the classical world was emmer rather than spelt. It may be considered definitely proved that emmer was grown in the Mediterranean region millennia before any trace of spelt can be found in the world.²⁶ Spelt probably never penetrated farther south than the Po Valley, which is outside the region of Mediterranean climate, and perhaps not even as far south as that valley.

²² N. I. Vavilov and others, *The Wheats of Abyssinia and their Place in the General System of Wheat*, Bulletin of Applied Botany, Genetics, and Plant Breeding, Supp. 51 (Leningrad, 1931).

²³ Friedrich Hrozný, *Das Getreide im alten Babylonien*, Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Vol. CLXXIII, Abhandlung I (1913).

²⁴ August Schulz, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Geschichte der Spelzweizen im Altertum* (Halle a.d.S., 1918), and *Die Geschichte der kultivierten Getreide* (Halle a.d.S., 1913).

²⁵ Robert Gradmann, "Dinkel und die Alemannen", *Württembergische Jahrbücher für Statistik und Landeskunde*, 1901, pp. 101-58.

²⁶ It is very probable that the wheat found in the recent excavations in Fayum by Miss Caton-Thompson consisted exclusively of emmer, G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum* (The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1934), pp. 46-49. The excavated grain is placed in the time somewhat before 5000 B.C. No spelt was found anywhere in the world which could be placed in the time before 2000 B.C.

It is likely that spelt was known in Rome. The farmers in the area about Rome probably tried to grow it, but spelt failed to adapt itself to the Mediterranean climate.

Emmer, a counterpart of durum and poulard among hulled wheats, was the leading crop in Rome, Egypt, Babylonia, and some other areas at the beginning of the classical period. As with durum wheats, emmer is less adapted to the production of bread than common wheat and spelt, but most of them are particularly suitable for porridge and alimentary pastes. Still, it was a kind of bread that emmer was principally used for in Egypt, Babylonia, Asia Minor, and certain other countries, although in Rome it was consumed mainly in the form of porridge.

Whether a wheat is naked or hulled does not matter to the ultimate consumer so long as he himself does not have to remove the hull, and it does not matter much even in the latter case. Not long ago spelt was the principal bread-grain crop of southwestern Germany. There was no discrimination against it to speak of on the part of the consumer, hull-free spelt selling for practically the same price as naked wheat. It is true that the production of spelt went down rapidly in the last decades, but the consumer and his preference had nothing to do with this. Spelt, less exacting as to growing conditions than naked wheat, was produced so long as, in terms of hull-free kernels, it yielded sufficiently more to repay the cost of removing the almost worthless hull and the additional cost of transportation and storage. The large reduction in the prices of commercial fertilizer and other technical achievements of modern times made it possible to produce as much or more naked wheat as hull-free spelt from the same area, and this, of course, meant the end of spelt.

A similar although not identical development occurred with emmer in classical times. The development was not quite the same because the objection of the consumers may have played a slight role in the downfall of emmer. As previously stated, emmer is not well adapted to bread production, and the improvements in baking techniques in the classical period made the preference for the consumption of grain in the form of bread even more pronounced. More marked also became the preference for the types of wheat most adapted to breadmaking. That this was a minor factor, however, is evident from the fact that the naked wheats which replaced emmer were mainly or exclusively poulard and durum wheats rather than common or club wheats.

As in the case of spelt, the principal reason for the replacement of emmer by naked wheat must be sought in production conditions. The

fact that emmer rather than naked wheat was primarily grown in the beginning of the classical period puts it beyond reasonable doubt that then emmer yielded materially more, in terms of hull-free kernels, than naked wheat. Except in very limited areas, it now yields materially less.²⁷ Although, according to Voigt, the shift from the consumption of emmer to that of naked wheat involved an increase in the area needed for the production of the cereal food of the Roman population by about 350 per cent, one can be certain that even a 10 per cent increase was not needed. Moreover, it seems probable that the replacement of emmer by naked wheat did not become rapid until farmers learned to produce from the same area as much naked wheat as hull-free emmer or even more. This time did not come for spelt, in the area where it proved adaptable, before the end of the nineteenth century; it arrived for emmer almost two thousand years earlier.

The relatively higher marketing costs on hulled wheat may have contributed to its rapid replacement by naked wheat during the classical period. Hulled wheat is an even bulkier grain than barley, and its price is lower per unit of volume than that of either barley or naked wheat. The burden of additional marketing costs is, therefore, even more effective in precluding transportation of emmer over long distances than in the case of barley. Unless hulled wheat was shipped with the hulls removed before shipment, its bulkiness must have practically excluded it from the international trade. This factor, however, could have been only a minor one among those responsible for the declining importance of this grain. The total grain exports of Egypt, for example, probably amounted to less than 15 per cent of its grain production. Even if the Egyptian exports consisted exclusively of naked wheat and barley, there would have been plenty of room left for a large emmer production unless emmer had been overtaken by naked wheat in yielding power.

While naked wheat almost pushed hulled wheat out of existence during the classical period, it is a grave mistake when Heichelheim repeatedly designates emmer as an inferior grain and places barley with naked wheat as a superior grain.²⁸ If men had not succeeded in developing varieties of naked wheat which yield not less of hull-less

²⁷ Carrado Barbagallo, "La produzione media relativa dei cereali e della vite nella Grecia, nella Sicilia, e nell' Italia antica", *Rivista di storia antica*, New Series, VIII (1904), 477-504, who used the present-day relationship in yield between naked wheat and emmer in computing the yield of emmer in classical Greece, would have great difficulty in explaining why any emmer was grown in Greece or elsewhere at that time.

²⁸ Heichelheim, in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, Supp. VI, p. 848; "Roman Syria", in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, 129.

kernels than emmer or spelt, all the conquests of naked wheat would have gone not to barley or other coarse grain but to hulled wheat. Rice, a hulled grain, dominates the Oriental world even more than naked wheat dominates the Occidental world.

DURUM AND POULARD VERSUS COMMON WHEAT

Durum and poulard wheat dominated in wheat production of the Mediterranean region in classical antiquity almost to the exclusion of the other subspecies of naked wheat. No common or spelt wheat apparently was ever discovered in Egypt.²⁹ Πυρός βεμδαλίτης, the type of wheat almost exclusively grown in Greece, and several other wheats of classical antiquity, are definitely identified as durum.³⁰ *Triticum* in the narrow sense, one of the two principal wheats of the area around Rome, and some other wheats most probably were poulard wheats. Sicilian, African, and Spanish wheats also are likely to have been mainly durum with poulard making up the rest. The production of common or club wheat seems to have been almost limited to central and especially northern Italy (*siligo* of the Romans) and to northern Greece (σιτανιάς).

This dominance of durum and poulard wheat in production existed in spite of the fact that common wheat was greatly preferred by the consumers. According to Pliny,³¹ *siligo*, a more or less branless flour from *siligo* wheat, interpreted here as common or club wheat, cost 56 asses per modius, while *similago*, a similar flour from *triticum* in the narrow sense, interpreted as durum or poulard wheat, cost 48 asses.

Poulard wheat indeed is a very poor-quality naked wheat, the poorest except for Polish wheat, which perhaps was never grown extensively in any part of the world. The kernels of most emmers and spelts also are superior in quality to poulard wheat. So far as this is used for food, it is more adapted for alimentary pastes or starch than bread. Durum is a better wheat than poulard, producing excellent macaroni, but most of it is not well adapted for making bread.

As in the case of barley and hulled wheat, the principal reason for growing poulard and durum rather than common or club wheat in antiquity has to be sought in production conditions. Poulard wheat is, and even more was, the highest yielding subspecies of naked wheat. Durum likewise yielded materially more than common wheat.

²⁹ This is also true of the most recent excavations in Karanis. Botanical and Zoological Reports, I. Cereals, *Karanis: Reports*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, XXV (Ann Arbor, 1933), 87-88.

³⁰ See J. and Ch. Cotte, *Étude sur les blés de l'antiquité classique* (Paris, 1913), p. 93.

³¹ Pliny, as cited in n. 20 above, XVIII, 90.

Some time after the classical period, perhaps partly during it, poulard wheat was replaced by other wheats. In the Mediterranean region it was replaced partly by common or club wheat, but another and much larger part was replaced by durum—a subspecies also little adapted to bread production. Although durum, like poulard, may have given way in part to common wheat since classical antiquity, it still commands a dominant position in the Mediterranean region. In Tunis, for example, about three fourths of the wheat produced is durum. Many areas grow many times as much durum as is needed for macaroni; the preference for this has little to do with the growing of durum. Many consumers still cannot afford the sacrifice needed for having their bread made from common rather than durum wheat. With the improvement in agricultural techniques, however, the advantage of durum in yield tends to decline, and with this disappears the foundation on which its dominance in production rests.

CONCLUSION

Bread made of wheat has been recognized in the Western world as superior to preparations from other grains for use as the principal cereal food. To make the shift to wheat in western and central Europe possible, it was necessary to make usable for wheat large stretches of poor, very acid, formerly forested soils, naturally adapted only to rye, oats, and buckwheat. Hence, the shift to naked wheat is regarded there with considerable justification as a cultural achievement of a high order—from both the consumption and production points of view.

The large gains of naked wheat in consumption and production in the classical world were less significant. They were primarily at the expense of emmer. The type of food consumed was little affected by the shift from emmer to naked wheat, because the shift was almost exclusively to subspecies of naked wheat very similar qualitatively to emmer. In production, too, the shift from emmer to naked wheat can hardly be considered as great an achievement as the adaptation of the poor, strongly acid, “rye” soils to wheat growing. The shift from emmer to wheat was not, indeed, a shift from one grain to another or even from one type of grain to another type of the same grain, but from a less efficient form of the same kind of grain to a more efficient form.

Wheat in the Mediterranean region in ancient times did not encounter the competition of rye and corn, the two grains which have since proved its strongest rivals for the role of the principal cereal food in the Occidental world. Rye, the only grain other than wheat from

which raised bread can be made and which therefore appeals most strongly to consumers among the coarse grains, is unadapted to the Mediterranean region. Corn, probably the best food grain among the underprivileged, *i.e.*, except wheat, rye, and rice, also is not at its best in the Mediterranean region because it needs artificial irrigation; it was, moreover, totally unknown in ancient times.

Besides emmer the only other serious adversary of naked wheat in the Mediterranean region was barley. So far as a shift from barley to wheat occurred, it caused almost as significant changes in the type of food consumed as those usually brought about by a shift from corn to wheat, and the changes were approximately as significant as those resulting through a shift from rye to wheat. But the shift from barley to naked wheat in consumption was much less quantitatively than the shift from emmer. Moreover, only part of the shift was due to preference for wheat. Another part was brought about by the development of an international grain trade in which the bulkiness of barley deprived it of a large portion of its advantage over wheat in cost to the consumer at the place of destination.

The victory of naked wheat in the classical world, we conclude, was attained not so much by the strength of wheat as by the weakness of its rivals.

N. JASNY.

Washington, D. C.

DOCTORS OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

A STATISTICAL STUDY¹

I, DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN PH. D. IN HISTORY

FROM the colonial period to the middle of the nineteenth century, American colleges followed closely upon English models. The intellectual renaissance of the nineteenth century, hastened by political revolutions, Darwinism, and the Industrial Revolution, brought sweeping changes in American education. The questioning spirit, the decline of theology, and the rise of science brought an emphasis upon research. American universities began to assume responsibility for broadening the field of knowledge. Signalizing these changes, American universities borrowed the degree of doctor of philosophy from Germany.²

The first Americans to hold the Ph. D. in history studied at German universities. There they became familiar with the seminar method of instruction and received a new vision of a history which was not merely a branch of literature. Soon they brought the new vision and the new method to the United States. In 1876 Ephraim Emerton returned to Harvard with a Ph. D. from Leipzig, and Herbert Baxter Adams, with a Ph. D. from Heidelberg, began to teach in the newly established Johns Hopkins University. Already at Harvard, under the direc-

¹ In presenting these data on Ph. D.'s in history the writers wish to thank the chairmen of graduate departments of history and their secretaries who have been both generous and extremely co-operative in furnishing and checking lists of Ph. D.'s. In addition to the departmental chairmen, librarians, deans of graduate schools, and alumni secretaries have given valuable aid.

Such generous assistance has made possible the compilation of an almost complete list of Ph. D.'s in history. A few departments have inadequate records, and in some instances the writers have had to depend upon alumni lists. For the most part, these departments are small and have had but few graduates (see n. 6 below). The writers do not assume that they have either complete or strictly accurate data in any of the categories of this study, but they have used the greatest care in checking all available sources of information. The writers hope that errors and omissions will be called to their attention. They would, on their part, suggest that the American Historical Association publish annual lists of those receiving the Ph. D. in history.

² Yale conferred the first American Ph. D. in 1861. The University of Pennsylvania first gave the degree in 1870, Harvard in 1873, Columbia University's School of Mines in 1875, Michigan in 1876, and Princeton in 1879. For information on the development of the Ph. D. see Walton C. John, *Graduate Study in Universities and Colleges in the United States* (Office of Education Bulletin, 1934, No. 20, Washington), pp. 20 ff.

tion of Henry Adams, a group of students had begun work for the doctorate. In 1876 Henry Cabot Lodge received the Ph. D. in "History and Government" at Harvard. Two years later Henry C. Adams, the first product of H. B. Adams's seminar at Hopkins, was awarded the Ph. D. Neither Lodge nor H. C. Adams was primarily a history graduate by present standards. The former would today be called a student in political science, the latter a student in economics. Both, however, received much of their training in history under teachers of history. Not until 1882, when John Franklin Jameson and Clarence Bowen received their doctorates from Johns Hopkins and Yale, respectively, was the American Ph. D. in history begun.

The creation of Johns Hopkins University marks the real beginnings of graduate study in the United States. Not only did the Baltimore university inspire imitation by other universities, but the Ph. D.'s whom Adams trained, teaching in colleges throughout the country, formed "colonies" which sent him a steady stream of new students already inspired by a zeal for historical research. By the end of the decade after Jameson received his degree, Adams had turned out thirty-eight doctors in history, among whom were such notable scholars as Charles H. Haskins, Woodrow Wilson, Frederick Jackson Turner, and Charles M. Andrews. During the same period, 1882-92, Harvard's history department had conferred five Ph. D.'s; Columbia, beginning in 1885, had graduated three. Yale, which had had its first history Ph. D. in 1882, did not confer another until E. G. Bourne and F. W. Shepardson received their degrees in 1892. Pennsylvania gave its first Ph. D. in history in 1891 to William C. Scott, Minnesota in 1888 to Charles Burke Elliot. Wisconsin in 1893 conferred its first doctorate in history upon Kate Everest (Levi), the first such degree to be granted to a woman.

In these early days the history departments defined the requirements for the degree in vague terms. For the most part, they were content with an imitation of German practices and with the general definitions of the university faculties. The subject itself was narrowly conceived and dealt largely with so-called "institutional" history. At Harvard constitutional history dominated the field, with courses in 1890-91 in the constitutional history of England, the principles of constitutional law, medieval history, "with Special Reference to Institutions", early American institutions, constitutional development, and federal government.³ At Hopkins, Adams taught "institutional" history so exclusively

³ Samuel E. Morison, *The Development of Harvard University* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 462.

that he wished his title to read "Professor of History and Institutions". The titles of early dissertations as well as of the courses revealed this preoccupation with *Verfassungsgeschichte*. During the 1880's at Columbia, theses on the "Constitutional History of Canada", an "Outline of Anglo-Saxon Law", a "History of the Law of Aliens", "The Constitution of the United States in Civil War and Reconstruction", indicated the legal and constitutional interest of candidates for the doctorate. At Johns Hopkins, Adams, believing that American governmental institutions had evolved from early Germanic germs, directed all his students into studies of local government. Legend has it that the professor, finally having exhausted the subjects in this narrow field, advised the members of his seminar to choose thesis subjects from European history. Legend further portrays the youthful Frederick Jackson Turner, scion of a Wisconsin pioneer, taking such patriotic offense at this attitude that he went forth to found the school of frontier history.

Certainly Turner's epoch-making "Significance of the Frontier in American History" marked the beginning of a process of broadening the fields of history. At Wisconsin, Turner began to direct his students into the history of the American West. At Columbia, William A. Dunning began his famous seminar on the Reconstruction period, and Charles A. Beard, a few years later, began to call attention through his writings to American economic history. Those working in European history followed a similar evolution, moving from the institutions of the Middle Ages into modern European history and then into the peripheral areas of the Balkans, the Near East, and eventually to the Far East. The development of the foreign interests of the United States in the period of the World War brought South America into the widening horizon of the historian, and Latin-American history took its place beside the other fields of historical knowledge. The expanding interest of historians found also "social", cultural, and agricultural history, the history of communications, of commerce, of journalism, of labor, and of public health. In all, by 1940 the American Historical Association classified the *List of Doctoral Dissertations . . . in Progress* into sixty categories. Through the laborious process of research on minute problems the boundaries of historical knowledge had been extended until Freeman's dictum, which was inscribed upon the wall of the Johns Hopkins seminar—"History is past politics"—was only a memory.

The development of new fields of historical study was reflected in the evolution of the requirements for the Ph. D. In 1884, as young

scholars began to seek his seminar, Herbert Baxter Adams drafted a program for the degree. The Ph. D. course, declared Adams, presupposed a general undergraduate knowledge of history. The candidate must also be able to read French and German and must have a knowledge of the historical literature in those languages. He must also attend lectures and seminars for ten to twelve hours a week and must be familiar with the original sources. The examinations for the degree would cover, first of all, the candidate's principal subject, history, and two other subjects, such as international law and political economy. There should, too, be a thorough examination in a special field. Adams defined three: institutional history, which included the classic and the modern European states; church history; and the constitutional history of England and the United States. Having passed these examinations, the candidate might proceed in the seminar to work upon a "graduating thesis, which must be a positive contribution to special knowledge in the candidate's chosen field".⁴

For some years the Hopkins program was followed in other universities. So long as the students were few and the field of history narrow, the administration of the work for the degree presented no problems. With the growth of graduate school enrollments and with the historians' widening horizons, however, new procedures became necessary. The most significant new procedure was the adoption of the preliminary examination. In the beginning Hopkins and several other universities used the M. A. degree as a testing ground for the doctoral candidate. The program for the M. A. resembled that for the Ph. D. The master's essay gave a preliminary training in handling the tools of research, while the final examination, written or oral, for the degree became the qualifying examination admitting to candidacy for the doctorate. The evolution of the M. A. into a degree for teachers—a development concurrent with the rise of Columbia University's Teachers College—diluted the master's degree as a test for a research program. Consequently the departments of history in the graduate schools began giving "preliminary" or qualifying examinations before admitting students as candidates for the Ph. D.

The fields of history in which the aspirant for admission to candidacy presents himself for examination have been variously defined. The facilities of the universities and the specialized interests of the

⁴ W. Stull Holt, ed., *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901, as revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series 56, No. 4, Baltimore, 1938), pp. 14-15.

history staff determined the definition of fields. In 1937-39 only the largest and best-equipped departments attempted a complete coverage of all the developed fields of historical study. Most departments contented themselves with specializing in the few fields for which library facilities were available. The presence of distinguished scholars in a particular field occasionally produced apparently incongruous combinations. In 1937-39 Harvard University led the list with forty-two fields from which the would-be doctor might select his specialties. At the other extreme, Yale offered only four. Harvard's fields, divided into groups, included four relating to the ancient world and the Byzantine Empire, ten in periods of the history of European nations, two in American history, and one each in the history of Canada, Latin America, India, the Near East, and the Far East. Then, too, a variety of fields, which in most institutions would have been classified as "minor fields", ranged from political theory, through Roman law and paleography, to anthropology and sociology. Literature, intellectual history, diplomatic history, and the history of religions all came within the scope of the Harvard program. Yale's more limited statement defined the subjects for examination as medieval Europe and England, modern Europe, modern England and America. Between these extremes fell the other fifty-six universities offering the Ph. D. in history. Chicago and Minnesota each offered nineteen fields, of which only four—the ancient Orient, Greece, Rome, and Latin America—were defined in the same terms. Minnesota's selection of two fields each in European and American economic history and one in Canadian history found no parallel at Chicago. Chicago's two fields in Far Eastern history paralleled, but did not cover, Minnesota's "Asia since 472", while the "History of Russia" had no counterpart at Minnesota. Wisconsin in these years redefined its fields, changing from seven to fifteen. Brown University specified twelve fields, Ohio State sixteen, California nine, Northwestern ten, Columbia six, Michigan seven, and Pennsylvania fourteen.

Whatever may have been the limitations and classifications of the fields, all institutions gave basic training in ancient, medieval, and modern European history, and in English and American history. The candidate selected from three to six fields for examination. Each institution guided the selection by classifying the fields into groups and requiring the candidate to select fields which formed a logical unit. The "logic" in any given case depended upon the candidate's intellectual equipment and his special research interests. In addition, the candidate had to offer one or two minor subjects in cognate fields of learning.

Usually the examinations in the minors are administered by the departments concerned, but the selection is guided by the special interests of the candidate. History majors generally "take minors" in political science, economics, or sociology, though occasionally they may venture as far afield as literature or education. The general requirements of a "reading knowledge"—variously interpreted—of French and German, with the occasional substitution of another language for one of them, remained universal. Special requirements were sometimes added. Students of ancient history, for example, were generally required to possess more than a "reading knowledge" of the ancient tongues, while medievalists added diplomatics and paleography.

At first glance it would appear that the widening field of history had resulted in the adoption of the elective system by history departments. Yet in contrast to the elective system, the varied fields of history were unified both by technique and by philosophy. The seminars which trained Ph. D.'s in history might be narrow and the dissertations might be on obscure topics, yet the training in the techniques of research and the development of the philosophy of history had immense value to the whole intellectual progress of the nation.⁵

II, HISTORY DEPARTMENTS AND DOCTORS OF PHILOSOPHY

In 1939, within the continental United States, there were 1,688 institutions of higher learning. Many of these were so-called junior colleges, teachers colleges, or professional schools, but the large majority were colleges or universities of the traditional type. Almost without exception the colleges and universities offered the traditional four-year course for the bachelor's degree, and a large proportion essayed some type of graduate instruction. In history, however, only fifty-eight universities offered—or had offered—a program leading to the Ph. D. This was less than 3 per cent of the total number of institutions, yet from the history departments of these fifty-eight universities had come over two thousand Ph. D.'s. Approximately 10 per cent of the total number of doctors of philosophy of American universities took their degrees in history.⁶

Among the fifty-eight graduate departments of history there were

⁵ In this connection see *id.*, "The Idea of Scientific History in America", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, I, 352-62 (June, 1940).

⁶ The compilations by Clarence S. Marsh in *American Universities and Colleges* (American Council on Education, Washington, 1936) would indicate that only chemistry and education conferred more doctorates, and that economics and English had equal numbers with history. The figures of this book, however, are so arranged that all doctorates, such as the J. D., the S. J. D., and Ed. D., are listed indiscriminately, and the lines of demarcation between departments are not clearly drawn.

wide differences in the number of graduates. Of the 2,055 Ph. D.'s conferred between 1873 and 1935, six universities—Columbia, Harvard, Chicago, Wisconsin, Johns Hopkins, and Pennsylvania—granted 1,111 or 54 per cent; seventeen universities, granting less than ten degrees each, totaled but seventy-seven or 3.7 per cent. Few of these universities had been in a position to grant the doctorate for the entire sixty-two years. For the first dozen years (1873-85) only Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Michigan, and Yale conferred the doctorate in history. Of the eighteen recipients of the degree in this period, nine worked at Harvard, five at Hopkins, two at Columbia, and one each at Michigan and Yale. During the next decade, eight more universities—Pennsylvania, Chicago, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Brown, George Washington, Nebraska, and Western Reserve—began to train Ph. D.'s in history. In this period Johns Hopkins took the lead, granting forty-nine of the seventy-eight degrees conferred. Harvard, in second place, gave the Ph. D. to seven candidates, and most of the newcomers conferred only one degree each. Between 1896 and 1905 sixteen universities conferred 187 Ph. D.'s in history; Hopkins, still in the lead, granted thirty-six; Yale, in second place, had twenty-nine; Columbia, Harvard, Pennsylvania, and Chicago followed closely with twenty-seven, twenty-six, twenty-three, and twenty, respectively. Within the next ten years (1906-15) Hopkins, with only eleven, fell to eighth place, the lead being taken by Columbia, with forty-eight. Harvard conferred thirty-five, Pennsylvania twenty-nine, Yale twenty-six, Wisconsin twenty-three, and Chicago twenty-one. The number of departments conferring the degree rose to twenty, and the total degrees granted rose to 260.

From 1916 to 1925 the number of Ph. D.'s in history increased to 394. The decade was marked by the addition of California, with thirty graduates, to the list of the leading institutions. Columbia continued to grant the largest number of degrees (sixty-seven), followed by Harvard with fifty-six, Chicago with thirty-six, and Wisconsin with thirty-two. Twenty-seven departments gave at least one Ph. D. in these years. In the period from 1926 to 1935 the number of departments offering the doctorate more than doubled, while the total number of doctoral graduates leaped to 1,118. It was a period of increased undergraduate enrollment and of an increased demand for trained teachers and researchers. Moreover, a troubled world kept alive an interest in history. Perhaps through the study of the past might be found some key to the problems of the present.

Table 1 lists this growth by five-year periods. This table, as well as Table 2 and any discussion of these statistics, lacks data concerning

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF GRADUATES (Ph.D.) IN HISTORY, 1873-1935

School	Yr. of First Degree	1870- 1875	1876- 1880	1881- 1885	1886- 1890	1891- 1895	1896- 1900	1901- 1905	1906- 1910	1911- 1915	1916- 1920	1921- 1925	1926- 1930	1931- 1935	Total
American.....	1921											4	3	9	16
Boston University.....	1926												1	1	2
Brown.....	1889				1	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	3	0	9
Bryn Mawr.....	1899						1	2	0	1	5	1	5	3	18
California.....	1908								4	6	15	15	34	49	123
Chicago.....	1895				2	9	11	9	9	12	13	23	45	46	170
Clark.....	1916										8	9	8	11	36
Colorado.....	1929												1	2	3
*Columbia.....	1885		2	1	2	7	20	22	22	26	31	36	45	63	255
Drew.....	1934												2	1	3
Dropsie.....	1926												4	17	21
Duke.....	1929												1	13	25
Fordham.....	1925											1	5	11	28
George Washington.....	1894					1	0	1	3	2	3	5	2	11	25
*Harvard.....	1873	1	8	0	3	4	10	16	16	20	10	46	43	75	252
Illinois.....	1906								3	4	5	5	23	25	65
Iowa.....	1921											11	21	20	52
Johns Hopkins.....	1882			5	23	26	27	9	6	5	4	12	21	10	148
Kansas.....	1921											2	0	5	7
Kentucky.....	1934													3	3
Michigan.....	1884			1	1	1	0	2	7	7	7	9	19	27	81
Minnesota.....	1888				1	1	0	0	0	0	2	4	3	11	22
Missouri.....	1935													2	2
Nebraska.....	1894					1	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	5	10
New York.....	1899						1	2	7	2	4	2	4	2	24
North Carolina.....	1926												12	8	20
Northwestern.....	1918										1	2	5	11	19
Ohio State.....	1925												1	13	37

eleven universities. The most important omissions are those of Cornell and Catholic University of America, the first of which refused and the second of which failed to furnish any data. In addition, the Biblical Seminary of New York, Boston College, Georgetown University, St. Louis University, Indiana University, Temple University, and the University of South Carolina appear to have granted the doctorate in history, at least in recent years. It may be assumed that the denominational institutions conferred the major portion of their degrees upon their clergy. The pamphlet *Doctoral Dissertations accepted by American Universities*, issued by the National Research Council, indicates that in the period 1925-35 Cornell conferred forty-seven doctorates in history, Catholic University forty, St. Louis twelve, Indiana eleven, Georgetown eight, Biblical Seminary four, Boston College four, South Carolina two, and Temple one. The system of classification adopted by this publication precludes any comparison with the present study.

III, FIELDS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

In selecting the fields for their first researches, a majority of Ph. D.'s have ignored the advice which H. B. Adams gave his seminar. Over half the candidates in history have selected theses subjects in American (United States and Latin-American) history. Only one third have elected to work in European history.

Although in the first twenty years of the doctorate in America nearly all the early teachers of graduate students in history had been trained in Europe, only 12 per cent of the candidates worked in European history. Since the beginning of the twentieth century nearly 40 per cent of the candidates have selected subjects outside the history of their native country. Among the larger universities, only Harvard and Pennsylvania have conferred more degrees in European than in American history, though Columbia has had an almost equal division between the two fields. Some of the smaller institutions, such as Bryn Mawr, Dropsie, George Washington, Pittsburgh, Radcliffe, Fordham, and Washington (St. Louis), have had most theses outside American history.

Table 2 lists this distribution in ten-year periods.

IV, OCCUPATIONS OF DOCTORS OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

From the first, an overwhelming majority of holders of the Ph. D. in history have entered the teaching profession. The first students in the seminars at Johns Hopkins and Harvard were preparing for teaching careers. Occasionally one of them was enticed, like Henry Cabot Lodge,

into journalism, politics, or public administration, and not infrequently one or another deserted the classroom for the larger salaries or more transitory importance of educational administration. "When the graduate school of history was first established", declared Columbia's Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, "we did not contemplate that every recipient of the Ph. D. would enter teaching. The degree was, and should be, considered as an award to which any person in any profession who has great intellectual curiosity may aspire."⁷ Yet the historian had found few other outlets for his talents, while the colleges furnished a steady "market" for the products of the seminars.

From 1926 to 1930 thirty-eight American universities conferred 452 Ph. D.'s in history. In the following five-year period, forty-five universities granted 666 doctor's degrees. A comparison of these two groups indicates that 72 per cent of the former and 67 per cent of the latter had, in 1939, entered teaching. About the same percentage (14 per cent and 15 per cent) of each group was unemployed. Significance may attach to the increase of nonacademic employment, from 10 to 17 per cent, between the earlier and later groups. This figure may be accounted for in part by the impact of the depression upon college budgets.

It should be noted, however, that in recent years increasing numbers of history Ph. D.'s have been finding nonteaching positions in government service for which their training in history made them eligible. This has been especially true in the Federal government, which now employs about thirty-five history Ph. D.'s in the National Archives and considerable numbers in the National Park Service and the Historical Records Survey. A few are also employed for historical work by the Department of Agriculture and other agencies. State archival agencies, historical commissions, and the like are employing increasing numbers of Ph. D.'s in history, and a few are employed as archivists by private concerns such as railroad companies. The possible expansion of professional archival activities by states, municipalities, and corporations and the prospect that the National Archives will establish branches to care for the field records of Federal agencies may in the future solve the placement problem for a large number of history Ph. D.'s, especially if the universities provide specialized training in archives administration for candidates interested in that field.

Tables 3 and 4 list by institutions and by types of employment the occupations of graduates in these two five-year periods.

⁷ *New York Times*, Apr. 2, 1939, in a news story entitled "Columbia strives to lift Standards in Higher Degrees".

TABLE 2

SUBJECT FIELDS OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY, 1873-1935	1873-85			1886-95			1896-1905			1906-15			1916-25			1926-35			Totals					
	American	European	Other*	American	European	Other*	American	European	Other*	American	European	Other*	American	European	Other*	American	European	Other*	American	European	Other*	Unknown	Total	
American.....																			6	0	1	9	16	
Boston University...																			1	0	0	1	2	
Brown.....																			1	0	0	0	9	
Bryn Mawr.....				1	1	0													3	5	0	0	9	
California.....																			8	9	1	0	18	
Chicago.....				1	1	0													85	27	9	2	123	
Clark.....				1	1	0		13	6	1	0	17	3	1	0	24	8	4	0	107	55	7	1	170
Colorado.....																16	1	0	0	31	3	0	2	36
Columbia.....				1	0	1		16	10	0	1	22	18	2	6				2	1	0	0	3	
Drew.....																30	24	7	48	49	6	5	119	
Dropsie.....																			1	0	0	0	1	
Duke.....																0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	
Fordham.....																20	1	0	0	20	1	0	0	21
George Washington...				0	0	0		0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	11	10	4	0	25	
Harvard.....				4	3	0		10	14	0	2	9	26	1	0	24	30	2	42	59	17	0	28	
Illinois.....	1	5	1					6	1	0	0	6	4	0	0	6	4	0	24	21	3	0	252	
Iowa.....																9	1	1	29	10	2	0	52	
Johns Hopkins.....	5	0	0	40	2	6		32	2	0	2	8	3	0	0	9	7	0	23	8	0	0	148	
Kansas.....																2	0	0	4	0	1	0	7	
Kentucky.....																			3	0	0	0	3	
Michigan.....				1	0	0		1	0	0	1	10	2	1	1	26	16	2	3	0	0	5	81	
Minnesota.....	1	0	0					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	5	1	0	1	0	0	22	
Missouri.....				2	0	0		0	0	0	0					1	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	
Nebraska.....																			4	0	0	2	10	
New York.....				0	0	0		1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	24	
North Carolina.....								3	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	6	0	0	17	3	0	0	20	

*"Other" refers to theses on Africa, Asia, and to those theses not limited to a single area. Asia Minor is classified as European history. "American" history includes North and South America.

TABLE 3*

OCCUPATIONS OF GRADUATES OF 1926-30 (AS OF 1939)	Teachers				Administrators				Other				Nonemployed							
	History	History plus	No history	Unknown	President	Vice-President	Dean	Chairman	Registrar	High School Principal	Librarian	Archivist	Federal Employee	State, City Employee	Minister	Miscellaneous	Married Woman	Unemployed	Deceased	Retired
American.....	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Boston University.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brown.....	3	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bryn Mawr.....	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0
California.....	34	26	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chicago.....	45	37	1	0	3	1	2	10	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0
Clark.....	8	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Colorado.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Columbia.....	45	19	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	19	1	0
Dropsie.....	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Duke.....	4	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fordham.....	11	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
George Washington.....	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Harvard.....	43	23	1	3	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	3	0	1	0	0	2	1	0
Illinois.....	23	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	1
Iowa.....	21	10	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Johns Hopkins.....	21	13	2	0	0	0	2	3	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Michigan.....	19	10	0	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	0
Minnesota.....	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nebraska.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
New York.....	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

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TABLE 4*

Number of Graduates	Teachers			Administrators					Other					Nonemployed						
	History	History plus	No history	Unknown	President	Vice-President	Dean	Chairman	Registrar	High School Principal	Librarian	Archivist	Federal Employee	State, City Employee	Minister	Miscellaneous	Married Woman	Unemployed	Deceased	Retired
American.....	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	0	0
Boston University.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bryn Mawr.....	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
California.....	49	35	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	1	1	4	2	0
Chicago.....	46	31	7	0	1	0	0	7	1	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Clark.....	11	2	3	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
Colorado.....	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Columbia.....	63	27	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	29	0	0
Drew.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Dropsie.....	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Duke.....	17	11	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Fordham.....	13	3	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	5	0	0
George Washington.....	11	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	5	2	0	1	0	0	1	1
Harvard.....	75	36	4	3	12	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	3	2	0	7	0	4	1	0
Illinois.....	25	6	3	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	0
Iowa.....	20	2	4	0	12	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Johns Hopkins.....	10	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Kansas.....	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Kentucky.....	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Michigan.....	27	16	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	2	0	0
Minnesota.....	11	8	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

*In Tables 3 and 4 "Administrators" who also teach are included in the column "Teachers". For this reason there is an apparent, but no actual, discrepancy in the total.

The caption "History plus" indicates that the teacher does not devote his full time to history. The majority of those listed under "No History" are teaching social sciences related to history.

"Federal Employees" include a few W. P. A. workers, most of whom are employed on such projects as the Historical Records Survey or the Writers' Program.

One of the three people listed as "Retired" was reported by the secretary of his department as, "Struck oil—quit teaching."

One of the three people listed as "Retired" was reported by the secretary of his department as, "Retired" service on a full-time basis.

V, TEACHER PLACEMENT OF DOCTORS OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

Since the overwhelming majority of Ph. D.'s in history enter college and university teaching, graduate departments of history necessarily give considerable attention to "finding jobs" for their newly created doctors. Every graduate school keeps in close touch with the university's teacher-placement bureau, and chairmen of history departments and advisers of students spend much time in assisting their fledgling Ph. D.'s to find suitable academic employment. Major professors advise their Ph. D. candidates to attend the annual meetings of the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Pacific Coast Branch, in order to meet and interview prospective employers.

Persistent is the legend among the new doctors that "in the early days" the annual convocations of the historians were "slave markets", where the new Ph. D. was welcomed into the gild and might pick his job from the rich offerings laid before him. From this legend springs a continuing pressure upon program chairmen for the opportunity to read papers at the meetings. The hope springs eternal that some department head, entranced by a display of energy and erudition, will—as in the days of yore—rush to the rostrum to offer at least an assistant professorship to the paper's proud perpetrator! Alas for both legend and hope, few positions are obtained that way!

Perhaps, even in the beginning, the legend had small basis in fact. Herbert Baxter Adams devoted much of his time to placing his early graduates and proudly counted the "colonies" he had established. Yet even then placement was difficult. Few colleges had history departments, and fewer still wanted Ph. D.'s in history. Competition was keen for the few places that existed. Among the speculative "ifs" of history is the problem whether the world would have been different if young Woodrow Wilson had won the job at Kansas that went to Frank Hodder. And in the files of the department at Wisconsin is the evidence of a lively competition for an instructorship which finally went to Ulrich B. Phillips over Charles A. Beard.

Quite possibly the best period in the placement of Ph. D.'s in history was the decade following the World War. By that time the work of the accrediting agencies had had its effect in breaking down earlier prejudices against the Ph. D., while a sudden increase in undergraduate enrollments increased the demand. For a few brief years during and after the war the demand exceeded the supply. But the situation rapidly

righted itself. The slow-grinding mills of the graduate schools speeded up—though probably they did not grind so fine—and the supply caught up with the demand at about the time the depression began to hit the college budgets.

The 1,686 colleges, junior colleges, teachers colleges, and technical schools of the United States constitute the “market” for the Ph. D.’s in history who enter the teaching profession. These colleges are distributed, roughly, throughout the United States in proportion to the population. Thanks to the work of the regional accrediting agencies, each region of the country employs its proper proportion of the output of the graduate departments of history. Thus, for example, New England, with about 7 per cent of the total population, has 8 per cent of the colleges and 6.5 per cent of the total number of college students in the country. By 1939, 8 per cent of those who had received Ph. D.’s in history from 1926 to 1935 had found academic employment in this region.

The following table lists, by percentages, the regional distributions in 1939 of 771 Ph. D.’s who received their degrees between 1925 and 1935 and entered the teaching field:

TABLE 5*

DISTRIBUTION OF GRADUATES OF 1926–35 EMPLOYED AS TEACHERS (AS OF 1939)

	% Total Population	% Colleges	% College Population	No. Ph.D.’s	% Ph.D.’s
Foreign.....				23	3.1
New England.....	6.7	7.8	6.4	64	8.4
Middle Atlantic.....	21.4	13.8	16.4	146	19.2
South Atlantic.....	12.9	16.0	11.6	103	12.1
East South Central....	8.0	8.8	5.8	48	6.3
East North Central....	21.0	16.6	23.3	165	21.5
West North Central....	11.0	14.8	12.6	63	8.4
West South Central....	10.0	10.2	9.0	57	7.5
Mountain.....	3.0	3.4	4.5	31	4.1
Pacific.....	6.0	8.6	10.4	71	9.4
Totals.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	771	100.0

*The regions used here are those commonly used by geographers and statisticians rather than by the accrediting associations.

Although there is a fairly even distribution of Ph. D.’s over the entire “market”, the graduates of any given department tend to congregate in the immediate region of their home university. In 1939 46 per cent of the teaching Ph. D.’s who had received degrees between 1926 and 1935 were teaching in the region where they had done their

graduate work. Thirty per cent were still in the same state. Even those who had found academic employment outside the home region had, for the most part, merely moved to an immediately adjacent region. Few graduates of the New England region made their way to the Pacific Coast, and in these ten years only one Ph. D. from the Coast found a place in New England.

Several factors combine to produce this phenomenal manifestation of academic provincialism. The absence of any national clearing house, or an employment agency supported by the profession, throws the burden of placement upon the chairmen and the major professors in the graduate departments. In a "buyers' market" each chairman attempts to control the part of the market nearest him and where he can exert his greatest influence. Moreover, college presidents and deans usually insist that their teachers should be spiritually attuned to the region. They demand "Southerners who understand Southern people", men who "understand the local situation" in the Middle West, or teachers who will not offend the delicate ears of New England students with the outlander's harsh accents. Such requirements limit the field of selection. The result is regional inbreeding, with the ever-present threat of increasing the provincialism which a college education should combat.

Equally significant of dangerous inbreeding is the large percentage of Ph. D.'s who find employment in the department where they did their graduate work. About 10 per cent of the doctors who received their degrees between 1926 and 1935 were teaching in their "home" university in 1939. Presumably these teachers fall into two classes: those too good to lose and those too bad to place but who are "taken care of" until some suitable employment appears. The placement figures for individual graduate departments of history are given in Tables 6 and 7.

TABLE 6*

DISTRIBUTION OF GRADUATES OF 1926-30 EMPLOYED AS TEACHERS (AS OF 1939)

Schools	Home University	Home State	Foreign	New England	Middle Atlantic	South Atlantic	East South Central	East North Central	West North Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific	Total Teaching
Group 1: New England													
Brown.....	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Clark.....	0	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	6
Harvard.....	3	6	2	9	9	5	0	5	0	1	0	2	33
Radcliffe.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yale.....	4	4	0	6	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	12
Totals.....	8	13	2	19	14	7	0	7	2	1	0	2	54
Group 2: Middle Atlantic													
Bryn Mawr.....	0	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Columbia.....	5	12	1	3	13	2	0	2	1	1	0	0	23
Dropsie.....	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fordham.....	1	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
New York.....	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Pennsylvania.....	0	11	1	0	16	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	21
Pittsburgh.....	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Princeton.....	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Totals.....	8	31	4	5	37	3	1	4	1	1	0	0	56
Group 3: South Atlantic													
American.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Duke.....	2	2	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
George Washington.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Johns Hopkins.....	1	2	0	2	2	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	16
North Carolina.....	4	6	0	0	0	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	9
Virginia.....	No graduates												
West Virginia.....	No graduates												
Totals.....	7	10	0	2	3	21	3	0	0	0	0	0	29
Group 4: East South Central													
Kentucky.....	No graduates												
Peabody.....	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Southern Baptist.....	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Vanderbilt.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals.....	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	3

*Those given in "Home State" are also included in the appropriate region. These figures are not necessarily conclusive on the question of placement. The earlier graduates in Table 6 may have been, in 1939, in the second, third, or even fourth position. It is believed, however, that there are comparatively few shifts, and that most of them take place within the regions. No figures are available on the rate of academic "turnover".

TABLE 6—Continued

DISTRIBUTION OF GRADUATES OF 1926-30 EMPLOYED AS TEACHERS (AS OF 1939)

Schools	Home University	Home State	Foreign	New England	Middle Atlantic	South Atlantic	East South Central	East North Central	West North Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific	Total Teaching
Group 5: East North Central													
Chicago.....	1	3	1	0	3	7	2	16	3	3	2	1	38
Illinois.....	1	3	0	0	0	1	2	6	1	3	3	0	16
Michigan.....	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	7	0	1	0	0	12
Northwestern.....	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	4
Ohio State.....	0	4	0	1	2	1	0	6	1	0	0	0	11
Western Reserve.....	No graduates												
Wisconsin.....	3	3	0	0	6	5	1	9	9	3	0	4	37
Totals.....	6	15	1	1	13	17	6	45	14	10	5	6	118
Group 6: West North Central													
Iowa.....	0	2	0	0	4	1	0	6	4	1	1	1	18
Kansas.....	No graduates												
Minnesota.....	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
Missouri.....	No graduates												
Nebraska.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Washington (St. Louis).....	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Totals.....	1	3	0	0	4	1	1	8	5	1	1	1	22
Group 7: West South Central													
Oklahoma.....	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Texas.....	1	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	7
Totals.....	1	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	0	0	8
Group 8: Mountain													
Colorado.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Group 9: Pacific													
California.....	4	11	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	4	5	11	26
Southern California.....	No graduates												
Stanford.....	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	6	9
Washington (Seattle).....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals.....	6	16	0	0	1	1	1	4	1	4	6	17	35

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF GRADUATES OF 1931-35 EMPLOYED AS TEACHERS (AS OF 1939)

Schools	Home University	Home State	Foreign	New England	Middle Atlantic	South Atlantic	East South Central	East North Central	West North Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific	Total Teaching
Group 1: New England													
Boston University.....	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Brown.....	No graduates												
Clark.....	0	1	1	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	7
Harvard.....	4	12	7	19	9	4	0	7	3	0	0	6	55
Radcliffe.....	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Yale.....	4	4	1	7	4	5	1	2	1	0	1	2	24
Totals.....	8	18	10	28	16	9	2	10	4	0	2	8	89
Group 2: Middle Atlantic													
Bryn Mawr.....	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Columbia.....	3	14	0	2	17	3	3	2	1	0	0	2	30
Dropsie.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Fordham.....	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5
New York.....	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Pennsylvania.....	1	7	0	0	11	3	4	0	1	2	1	1	23
Pittsburgh.....	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Princeton.....	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5
Totals.....	8	36	0	2	39	7	7	4	2	3	1	4	69
Group 3: South Atlantic													
American.....	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Duke.....	3	1	0	0	1	4	3	2	0	1	0	0	11
George Washington.....	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Johns Hopkins.....	0	1	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	7
North Carolina.....	0	3	0	0	0	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
Virginia.....	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
West Virginia.....	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Totals.....	4	6	0	0	5	18	4	3	0	2	0	0	32
Group 4: East South Central													
Kentucky.....	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Peabody.....	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	5
Southern Baptist.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vanderbilt.....	1	1	0	0	0	1	5	0	0	1	0	0	7
Totals.....	1	4	0	0	0	2	9	0	0	3	0	0	14
Group 5: East North Central													
Chicago.....	1	1	1	2	9	6	5	7	3	3	1	1	38
Illinois.....	2	6	1	0	0	1	0	9	3	1	1	1	17
Michigan.....	2	8	0	0	1	1	0	13	3	0	1	0	19
Northwestern.....	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	1	9
Ohio State.....	2	5	0	0	0	1	3	8	3	2	0	1	18
Western Reserve.....	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Wisconsin.....	0	12	0	3	0	3	0	15	6	2	2	2	33
Totals.....	7	36	3	5	10	12	9	59	18	8	5	6	135

TABLE 7—Continued

DISTRIBUTION OF GRADUATES OF 1931-35 EMPLOYED AS TEACHERS (AS OF 1939)

Schools	Home University	Home State	Foreign	New England	Middle Atlantic	South Atlantic	East South Central	East North Central	West North Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific	Total Teaching
Group 6: West North Central													
Iowa.....	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	10	6	1	0	0	18
Kansas.....	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
Minnesota.....	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	1	8
Missouri.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Nebraska.....	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3
Washington (St. Louis).....	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
Totals.....	0	7	1	1	0	3	0	15	12	2	0	1	35
Group 7: West South Central													
Oklahoma.....	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Texas.....	2	7	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	8	1	0	11
Totals.....	2	9	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	10	1	0	13
Group 8: Mountain													
Colorado.....	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Totals.....	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Group 9: Pacific													
California.....	2	13	0	1	1	0	2	4	2	3	7	15	35
Southern California.....	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	6
Stanford.....	1	5	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	2	1	7	15
Washington (Seattle).....	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Totals.....	4	22	2	1	4	0	2	5	3	5	9	26	57

Even within the regional limits created by factors of provincialism, not all departments are equally successful in placing their graduates. In general, the more desirable academic positions are to be found in the larger universities, while colleges, junior colleges, teachers colleges, technical schools, and high schools rank beneath the universities in a descending order. Table 8 shows the types of schools in which the 771 history Ph. D.'s of 1926-35 were teaching in 1939.

TABLE 8*

TYPES OF SCHOOLS IN WHICH GRADUATES OF 1926-35 WERE TEACHING IN 1939

School	1926-1930						1931-1935					
	University	College	Teachers College	Junior College	High School	Professional or Technical	University	College	Teachers College	Junior College	High School	Professional or Technical
American.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Boston University.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Brown.....	1	2	0	0	0	0	No graduates					
Bryn Mawr.....	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
California.....	8	13	2	2	1	0	11	19	1	2	2	0
Chicago.....	9	24	4	0	0	1	9	21	6	1	0	1
Clark.....	1	4	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	1	1	0
Colorado.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Columbia.....	6	16	1	0	0	0	15	10	2	0	2	1
Drew.....	No graduates						0	0	0	0	0	0
Dropsie.....	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Duke.....	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	3	0	0	1
Fordham.....	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	2	0
George Washington....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Harvard.....	23	9	0	0	0	1	22	30	0	1	1	1
Illinois.....	4	7	5	0	0	0	2	9	5	1	0	0
Iowa.....	6	9	3	0	0	0	1	9	5	2	1	0
Johns Hopkins.....	1	11	2	1	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	2
Kansas.....	No graduates						0	1	1	0	0	0
Kentucky.....	No graduates						0	1	0	0	1	0
Michigan.....	7	2	2	0	0	1	7	7	5	0	0	0
Minnesota.....	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	1	0	0
Missouri.....	No graduates						0	1	1	0	0	0
Nebraska.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
New York.....	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
North Carolina.....	4	4	1	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	0	0
Northwestern.....	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	4	2	2	0	1
Ohio State.....	2	8	0	1	0	0	4	9	3	0	2	0
Oklahoma.....	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Peabody.....	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0
Pennsylvania.....	5	12	0	0	2	2	8	9	2	0	4	0
Pittsburgh.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Princeton.....	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Radcliffe.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Southern Baptist.....	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southern California...	No graduates						1	2	0	2	1	0
Stanford.....	5	2	2	0	0	0	3	9	0	2	1	0
Texas.....	1	4	2	0	0	0	3	3	5	0	0	0
Vanderbilt.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	1	0	0
Virginia.....	No graduates						0	1	1	0	0	0
Washington (St. Louis)...	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Washington (Seattle)...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
West Virginia.....	No graduates						1	0	0	0	0	0
Western Reserve.....	No graduates						0	1	0	0	0	0
Wisconsin.....	10	21	6	0	0	0	5	8	12	8	0	0
Yale.....	8	4	0	0	0	0	8	14	1	0	1	0
Totals.....	110	166	33	4	6	6	120	204	66	28	21	7

*"Universities" in this classification are institutions which, in any department, grant the Ph.D.

VI, PRODUCTIVITY OF DOCTORS OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

From the first years of the Ph. D. in America a curious controversy between "teaching" and "research" has waxed and waned in academic circles. The fact that a majority of doctors of philosophy have entered college teaching has given plausibility to perennial demands from college administrators, educationalists, and journalistic pundits that the universities should train teachers rather than researchers. Apparently the critics of the Ph. D. program, deceived by their own words, fail to perceive that teaching and learning are one and the same thing. The college teachers who are not actively engaged in contributing to their own knowledge and testing the results of their own researches by frequent publication are failing in their duty to their college, their students, and their profession.

The college official who fails to encourage his faculty's researches or who emphasizes that he is seeking "good teachers, not research men" may be protecting his budget, but he is defrauding his patrons. Pressed by the accrediting agencies to maintain a minimum proportion of Ph. D.'s on his faculty, many a college president seeks only a nominal compliance with the requirement. Since laboratories, libraries, research facilities, and leaves of absence are expensive, college presidents deprecate research. The result defeats the purpose of the accrediting agencies.

Not only a desire for a cheap faculty, however, actuates the academic critics of research. Frequently a combination of gross ignorance and a fear of having his own incompetence exposed actuates the anti-research administrator. The dean who complained, when he asked for a man "who understood the teaching of science", that a graduate school sent him a man who had "spent four years studying the reproduction of the earthworm", obviously did not want a good teacher.⁸ He understood neither the meaning of biology nor the significance of the scientific method. Perhaps he found some glib and superficial popularizer of science, but he rejected a candidate who obviously was more likely to "understand the teaching of science". Administrators who assert that "the high degree of specialization in study to which the Doctor of Philosophy has become accustomed is precisely that which is to be

⁸ The incident, probably fictitious, is related by B. Lamar Johnson in an essay entitled "Needed: A Doctor's Degree for General Education", *Journal of Higher Education*, X, 75-78 (Feb., 1939). Dean Johnson argues that specialized study "is not suited to the needs of teachers in general education".

avoided in college teaching"⁹ seldom fail to call attention to the productivity of their faculties when reporting to their trustees or when approaching possible contributors to the endowment fund. Some of the catalogues of smaller colleges list the publications of the faculty in order to impress prospective students.

From still another direction have come attacks upon the researchers. Journalists, popularizers, and even novelists have taken up the glib refrain of the administrators and condemned the researches of the social scientists because of their dullness. Carlyle's remarks on the "dry-as-dusts" have been mouthed by sundry popularizers whose own labors have consisted in skimming the cream from numerous monographs.

Historians, more intent upon publishing the results of researches for their fellows than on promulgating them with literary embellishments, have been the greatest sufferers from these critics. They have suffered doubly, for the poachers have not only stolen from them but have endeavored to cover their tracks by joining the cry against the Ph. D.'s.

The critics of the Ph. D.'s have failed to consider either the historical background or the social significance of the degree. From the time of its importation to America, the degree represented an intensive training in the methods of research. A majority of doctors of philosophy have worked in the sciences, and their researches have been fully utilized by industry. In an industrial nation, faced by complicated technical problems, the work of the trained researcher was of immediate social value. There was, of course, no reason why men who do such research could not have been trained in the industries which profited from them. Chemical manufacturers who have set up research laboratories might have trained their own staff of researchers. The electrical industries might have done the same. Hospitals might have continued to train doctors, and experienced lawyers might have taken in clerks to "read law" in their offices. Presumably, historical libraries and governmental archives could have produced researchers in history. But instead of the social demand for trained researchers being met by the industries and professions concerned, the colleges and universities took over the function. The Ph. D. became the label to mark the completion of an apprenticeship in research. The colleges assumed a new and broader function in a changing society; not only were they to pass down the traditional accomplishments which constituted an "education", but they were also to participate in the adventure of broadening the boundaries

⁹ *New York Times*, Dec. 18, 1939, quoting President Butler's annual report.

of knowledge. The assumption of this new role brought with it increased endowments and a larger share of the public income.

The result of the verbal dichotomy which divides scholars into "teachers" and "research men" has been to de-emphasize research in the graduate schools. The dissertations of the doctors have been continued, but they are seldom published. The low status of research and the poor rewards have given excuses for the lazy, the incompetent, and the dilettanti to cease work. Such students enter the graduate schools to prepare for a "teaching" career. The achievement of the Ph. D. degree becomes the high point in their careers rather than the certificate of competence in research. Graduate departments, meeting the avowed needs of their "markets", have announced that they were "teaching departments" and that their graduates were "teachers".

Historians have been continually conscious of the criticisms directed against the Ph. D., and from time to time they have discussed their problems. At the 1904 meeting of the American Historical Association, Yale's Professor George B. Adams proposed that the American doctorate be patterned on French rather than German practices and that the dissertation be abandoned. The majority of those participating in the discussion favored the retention of the dissertation. Professor C. M. Andrews pointed out that the printing of the dissertation improved the quality of the work. Others found defects in the program for the doctorate, and some deplored the low literary qualities of the dissertation, but only Wisconsin's Professor Dana C. Munro agreed with Adams that the thesis was "not necessary for those seeking a broad scholarship".

Whereas the dissertation has nowhere been abandoned and the requirement that it be published is general, so many evasive devices have been resorted to in recent years that publication has become the exception rather than the rule. The most common evasion is the publication of an "abstract" rather than of a substantial portion of the dissertation. Such abstracts may be sufficient in certain of the sciences, but the usual history thesis is both too long and too dependent upon the interpretation of detailed data to be satisfactorily abstracted. Only Columbia and the Catholic University make more than a feeble gesture to comply literally with the traditional rule of publication, and only Catholic University requires publication in full. In recent years experiments with such cheaper forms of publication as mimeographing, multi-graphing, offset printing, hectographing, and microfilming offer some promise that the earlier practices may be restored.

Without the publication of the thesis there is no way that the historical profession can evaluate the work of either the new doctor or of the graduate department which has conferred the degree. Moreover, without publication the dissertation becomes, in the words of William Gardner Hale, merely a "piece of gymnastic apparatus, indifferent beyond a show of the candidate's strength". In 1902 Hale addressed the assembled members of the Association of American Universities on the "Doctor's Dissertation". The dissertation, he said,

. . . is a piece of *property*. If it is accepted, it is supposed to be a piece of property of some value. It is an intellectual possession, belonging to the writer—a part of the capital with which he starts upon his career. But its effectiveness lies wholly in publicity. If printed, it forms the writer's best letter of introduction to the learned world at large, in his own particular field. If not printed, it is, as property, obliterated. . . . The knowledge that the dissertation, if accepted, is to be printed is inevitably an incentive to better work on the part of the writer. It can hardly seem to him of grave consequence to produce his best work, if its life is to be ephemeral, and even its grave unmarked.

Of the assembled deans who heard Hale, only two are on record as agreeing with him!¹⁰

Perhaps historians have been less assailed by the critics of the Ph. D. and have made saner adjustments to the criticism than the members of most other academic disciplines. In general, the graduate departments of history have insisted upon a broad training for doctoral candidates and have guided graduate researchers to subjects of more than minute significance. The gerund-grinding phase of historical research declined when the horizons began to broaden, and "institutional history" joined Freeman's dictum in limbo. Yet historical research has suffered from the general anathemas against the Ph. D. The failure of college administrators to encourage research and the failure of the graduate departments to emphasize the value of continued productivity are partly responsible for the excessive number of "stillborn doctors" who do no work after receiving their degrees.

In 1927 Professor Marcus W. Jernegan, surveying the productivity of Ph. D.'s in history, concluded that only 25 per cent of the holders of the degree engaged in research. As obstacles to research he listed (1) low salaries, (2) lack of time, (3) nonacademic "services" which the communities demanded of teachers, (4) lack of library facilities, (5) lack of realization of suitable research topics, (6) cost of publishing. More

¹⁰ William Gardner Hale, "The Doctor's Dissertation", *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Third Annual Conference of the Association of American Universities* (1902), pp. 16 ff.

serious than these, Professor Jernegan found that graduate instructors failed to stimulate a desire for research among their students and that a "low social value" was placed on research and publication.

Obviously, some of the "obstacles" which Professor Jernegan found were mere excuses for non-productiveness. The period of his study marked the highest point of academic salaries, and by that time the accrediting associations had succeeded in reducing the teaching load in the colleges to a point where a reasonable number of community services would not necessarily prohibit research. Moreover, the seasonal unemployment of academic people—euphoniously called summer vacations—added to the available time if not to the available funds for research. The geographical distribution of Ph. D.'s, half of whom live close enough to their alma maters to return for the homecoming game, makes "the lack of library facilities" more a plausible excuse than a valid reason for not engaging in research.¹¹

In the years following Jernegan's study,¹² a larger number of graduate departments and young Ph. D.'s began to strive to better the record. Aiding in the work of stimulating research were a number of forces. The American Historical Association created a revolving fund for the publication of meritorious work and began to issue check lists of research in progress. Other historical societies began to search for and publish monographs. Under the editorship of Professor Arthur C. Cole the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* continued a process of broadening its interests until it covered the entire field of American history. Moreover, Editor Cole welcomed articles from new writers and offered freely his expert advice in improving the quality of their work. Other older magazines, many of which had declined to mere antiquarian and genealogical journals, followed this example and began to encourage new contributions.¹³ New historical journals and societies

¹¹ Marcus W. Jernegan, "Productivity of Doctors of Philosophy in History", *American Historical Review*, XXXIII, 1-22 (Oct., 1927). Few studies have been made of the productivity of Ph. D.'s in other subjects. Professor Jernegan's figures might be compared with those given for doctors of education and for Ph. D.'s in mathematics. Walter S. Monroe and Arlyn Marks, in their article, "Doctors of Education", *Jour. Higher Educ.*, X, 191-94 (Apr., 1939), attempt to list both productivity and eminence in the profession for 986 Ed. D.'s of 1918-37. They found 66 per cent productive and about 30 per cent unproductive. For mathematics, R. G. D. Richardson, in his "The Ph. D. Degree and Mathematical Research", *American Mathematics Monthly*, XLIII, 199-215 (Apr., 1936), estimated that 40 per cent of the graduates of 1915-25 had not, by 1936, published the results of their research. His study, however, included only papers read before the American Mathematical Society.

¹² Reprints still available in the *Review* office for ten cents to cover mailing.

¹³ Note, for example, the evolution of the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical*

entered the field, such as the *Business Historical Society Bulletin* (1926), the *Journal of Modern History* and the *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications* (in 1929), *Church History* (1932), the *Journal of Southern History*, published by the Southern Historical Association (1935), and the *American Military History Foundation Journal* (1937), and offered new outlets for the products of research. New university presses—and new blood or spirit in older university presses—began to compete for good books with new processes of publication. The Social Science Research Council occasionally took cognizance of historical scholarships and handed out grants-in-aid, post-doctoral fellowships, or other encouraging emoluments to historians. The blue ribbon of a Guggenheim Fellowship has been conferred on a goodly number of historians. Perhaps, too, the depression helped make keener competition for jobs and recognition—the productive scholar had a competitive advantage over the stillborn doctor!

The result of these advantageous forces was the increase in the percentage of Ph. D.'s in history who were actively engaged in research and publication. Whereas in 1926 Professor Jernegan had found but 25 per cent of the Ph. D.'s engaged in research, over 50 per cent of those who received the degree in the next decade had publications to their credit and gave promise of continued productivity. By 1939 the 1,118 Ph. D.'s of 1926-35 had published nearly 2,500 articles in scholarly journals and over eight hundred books.

This was by far the best record of productivity which the Ph. D.'s in history had shown. Even in the first days of graduate work in history 50 per cent of the Ph. D.'s were unproductive. Of the forty-eight Ph. D.'s in history conferred by American universities between 1873 and 1891, one half had published nothing by 1902, while twenty-two had published articles and eighteen had published books. In those days, when the whole field of history was just beginning to be touched by scholarship, the number of books written by this pioneer group was forty-six and the number of articles 162. Per man, they were more productive than the eleven hundred Ph. D.'s of 1926-35, but the latter group had a larger percentage of their laborers toiling in the vineyard.¹⁴

Quarterly and the transformation of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* into the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*.

¹⁴ This count is based on the *Bibliography of Members of the American Historical Association*, published as part of the *Annual Report* of 1902. Of the forty-eight doctors of philosophy in history whose degrees were conferred before 1891, forty-six were members of the Association; twenty-two of them listed no publications.

TABLE 9
BOOKS PUBLISHED BY GRADUATES OF 1926-35 DURING 1926-39

School	1926-1930			1931-1935		
	No. of Grad- uates	No. Writing	No. of Books	No. of Grad- uates	No. Writing	No. of Books
American.....	3	2	3	9	0	0
Boston University.....	1	0	0	1	0	0
Brown.....	3	0	0	0	0	0
Bryn Mawr.....	5	3	7	3	0	0
California.....	34	15	28	49	8	10
Chicago.....	45	18	31	46	25	29
Clark.....	8	2	3	11	0	0
Colorado.....	1	0	0	2	0	0
Columbia.....	45	43	83	63	58	89
Drew.....	0	0	0	1	0	0
Dropsie.....	2	1	3	1	0	0
Duke.....	4	3	3	17	7	10
Fordham.....	11	0	0	13	1	1
George Washington....	2	0	0	11	1	1
Harvard.....	43	23	52	75	35	51
Illinois.....	23	14	20	25	16	20
Iowa.....	21	12	27	20	10	10
Johns Hopkins.....	21	13	22	10	6	6
Kansas.....	0	0	0	5	1	1
Kentucky.....	0	0	0	3	1	1
Michigan.....	19	11	26	27	5	6
Minnesota.....	3	3	5	11	9	11
Missouri.....	0	0	0	2	1	1
Nebraska.....	1	0	0	5	1	1
New York.....	4	3	6	2	0	0
North Carolina.....	12	7	13	8	4	6
Northwestern.....	5	2	3	11	1	1
Ohio State.....	13	6	9	23	6	8
Oklahoma.....	1	0	0	4	3	4
Peabody.....	4	3	7	6	4	5
Pennsylvania.....	27	17	21	33	19	27
Pittsburgh.....	1	1	1	4	2	2
Princeton.....	2	1	1	9	3	4
Radcliffe.....	2	0	0	7	0	0
Southern Baptist.....	2	0	0	7	1	1
Southern California....	0	0	0	9	2	2
Stanford.....	12	11	20	16	5	8
Texas.....	9	5	13	24	7	24
Vanderbilt.....	1	1	3	9	7	8
Virginia.....	0	0	0	2	0	0
Washington (St. Louis)...	2	1	1	3	0	0
Washington (Seattle)...	1	0	0	1	0	0
West Virginia.....	0	0	0	1	1	2
Western Reserve.....	0	0	0	2	1	1
Wisconsin.....	41	14	21	46	9	10
Yale.....	18	11	40	29	8	9
Totals.....	452	246	472	666	268	370

	1926-1930	1931-1935
Percentage writing.....	54	40
Number of books per person.....	1.9	1.4

TABLE 10

ARTICLES AND ESSAYS PUBLISHED BY GRADUATES OF 1926-35 DURING 1926-39

School	1926-1930			1931-1935		
	No. of Graduates	No. Writing	No. of Publications	No. of Graduates	No. Writing	No. of Publications
American.....	3	2	9	9	0	0
Boston University.....	1	0	0	1	0	0
Brown.....	3	3	6	0	0	0
Bryn Mawr.....	5	1	1	3	1	2
California.....	34	22	100	49	23	65
Chicago.....	45	27	110	46	32	94
Clark.....	8	5	10	11	9	10
Colorado.....	1	1	19	2	2	7
Columbia.....	45	29	170	63	31	192
Drew.....	0	0	0	1	0	0
Dropsie.....	2	0	0	1	0	0
Duke.....	4	4	20	17	8	19
Fordham.....	11	0	0	13	0	0
George Washington.....	2	0	0	11	2	5
Harvard.....	43	41	267	75	55	188
Illinois.....	23	18	44	25	17	33
Iowa.....	21	19	131	20	14	40
Johns Hopkins.....	21	12	33	10	5	15
Kansas.....	0	0	0	5	2	2
Kentucky.....	0	0	0	3	0	0
Michigan.....	19	11	38	27	13	24
Minnesota.....	3	2	8	11	6	17
Missouri.....	0	0	0	2	1	1
Nebraska.....	1	1	3	5	0	0
New York.....	4	3	10	2	2	3
North Carolina.....	12	10	32	8	5	14
Northwestern.....	5	3	13	11	5	10
Ohio State.....	13	12	35	23	12	29
Oklahoma.....	1	1	9	4	1	4
Peabody.....	4	2	2	6	2	2
Pennsylvania.....	27	12	31	33	15	48
Pittsburgh.....	1	1	1	4	2	2
Princeton.....	2	1	3	9	7	18
Radcliffe.....	2	2	3	7	1	1
Southern Baptist.....	2	1	2	7	1	2
Southern California.....	0	0	0	9	4	6
Stanford.....	12	8	80	16	13	26
Texas.....	9	8	38	24	10	33
Vanderbilt.....	1	0	0	9	7	12
Virginia.....	0	0	0	2	1	2
Washington (St. Louis).....	2	0	0	3	1	2
Washington (Seattle).....	1	1	1	1	1	1
West Virginia.....	0	0	0	1	0	0
Western Reserve.....	0	0	0	2	1	6
Wisconsin.....	41	25	91	46	18	47
Yale.....	18	11	45	29	11	21
Totals.....	452	299	1,365	666	341	1,003

	1926-1930	1931-1935
Percentage of persons writing.....	66	51
Number of articles and essays per person.....	4.6	2.9

Not all of the graduate departments shared equally in this increased scholarly activity. Universities with active presses showed greater numbers of publications by their graduates than those without presses or with a poorly supported program of university publication. The universities which gave home and subsidy to scholarly periodicals produced, naturally, a greater number of productive scholars than those who did not hold such constant reminders before their students. In general, too, the larger departments graduated a higher percentage of producers than the smaller. Tables 9 and 10 list the productivity of the graduates of departments which conferred the Ph. D. between 1926 and 1935. These tables have been compiled from the following bibliographical sources: *Writings on American History*, 1925-35*; *United States Catalog*, 1925-39; *Readers' Guide*, 1925-39; *International Index to Periodicals*, 1925-39; *Bibliographie der fremdsprachigen Zeitschriftenliteratur*, 1925-38; *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, 1926-36*; *List of Doctoral Dissertations Printed*, 1925-37*; *Essay Index*, 1925-38.

Although increased activity does not necessarily indicate improved quality, there are few historians of 1940 who would not contend that the average historical essay had improved in the sixty-four years since Herbert Baxter Adams organized his first seminar. Twice since Professor Jernegan's article, the Pulitzer Prize in history has gone to doctoral dissertations. Though the literary standards of the Ph. D. remain low, an increasing number of productive scholars recognize the need for improvement. Through their researches the newer Ph. D.'s in history have gained the recognition of their scholarly fraternity. Some indication of the extent of this recognition may be obtained from the number of reviews which they are asked to do for the professional journals. Approximately one third of the graduates of 1926-35 had contributed reviews to the leading scholarly journals by 1939 (see Table 11).

In 1927 Professor Jernegan estimated that in the next ten years the universities would grant five hundred Ph. D.'s in history. He hoped that they would be of "much higher ability than the average at present". If, of these five hundred, 50 per cent instead of 25 per cent become consistent producers, "then we may begin to hope for a new epoch in higher education in the United States".¹⁵ Professor Jernegan's estimate

¹⁵ Jernegan, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII, 22.

*More recent issues of the three sources marked with an asterisk were not available at the time this study was under way.

TABLE 11*
REVIEWS WRITTEN BY GRADUATES OF 1926-35 DURING 1926-39

School	1926-1930			1931-1935		
	No. of Graduates	No. of Reviewers	No. of Reviews	No. of Graduates	No. of Reviewers	No. of Reviews
American.....	3	0	0	9	0	0
Boston University.....	1	0	0	1	0	0
Brown.....	3	1	2	0	0	0
Bryn Mawr.....	5	0	0	3	1	2
California.....	34	16	126	49	16	63
Chicago.....	45	22	84	46	16	41
Clark.....	8	1	7	11	1	7
Colorado.....	1	1	5	2	0	0
Columbia.....	45	23	143	63	23	67
Drew.....	0	0	0	1	0	0
Dropsie.....	2	0	0	1	0	0
Duke.....	4	4	15	17	7	23
Fordham.....	11	0	0	13	0	0
George Washington.....	2	0	0	11	1	1
Harvard.....	43	32	180	75	39	133
Illinois.....	23	5	16	25	4	11
Iowa.....	21	7	57	20	1	9
Johns Hopkins.....	21	3	3	10	1	2
Kansas.....	0	0	0	5	0	0
Kentucky.....	0	0	0	3	0	0
Michigan.....	19	8	40	27	8	27
Minnesota.....	3	1	2	11	2	2
Missouri.....	0	0	0	2	0	0
Nebraska.....	1	0	0	5	1	1
New York.....	4	1	2	2	0	0
North Carolina.....	12	4	12	8	2	9
Northwestern.....	5	2	6	11	1	1
Ohio State.....	13	9	87	23	3	4
Oklahoma.....	1	1	7	4	0	0
Peabody.....	4	0	0	6	0	0
Pennsylvania.....	27	5	26	33	7	22
Pittsburgh.....	1	0	0	4	0	0
Princeton.....	2	1	3	9	5	16
Radcliffe.....	2	0	0	7	1	2
Southern Baptist.....	2	0	0	7	0	0
Southern California.....	0	0	0	9	1	1
Stanford.....	12	8	74	16	4	19
Texas.....	9	3	17	24	6	20
Vanderbilt.....	1	1	2	9	3	14
Virginia.....	0	0	0	2	2	2
Washington (St. Louis).....	2	0	0	3	0	0
Washington (Seattle).....	1	0	0	1	0	0
West Virginia.....	0	0	0	1	0	0
Western Reserve.....	0	0	0	2	0	0
Wisconsin.....	41	12	87	46	5	8
Yale.....	18	12	63	29	7	23
Totals.....	452	183	1,066	666	168	530
				1926-1930	1931-1935	
Percentage of persons writing.....				40	24	
Number of reviews per person.....				5.8	3.2	

*This table was compiled from reviews appearing in the following journals: *American Historical Review*; *Canadian Historical Review*; *Catholic Historical Re-*

was too low, for more than 50 per cent of the next decade's graduates had given promise of continuing productivity. Perhaps the new epoch is not beyond hope.

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE,
LOUIS KAPLAN.

University of Wisconsin.

view; Church History; English Historical Review; Hispanic American Historical Review; History; Journal of Modern History; Journal of Southern History; Mid-America; Mississippi Valley Historical Review; New England Quarterly; Pacific Historical Review; Revue historique; Speculum. If this list had been extended to cover the field to the same extent as the lists consulted for Tables 9 and 10, it would undoubtedly have shown a higher percentage of writers.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

CIVILIAN DEFENSE AND ACADEMIC DEFERMENT ORLÉANS, 1411-1430¹

MEDIEVAL Orléans was a strongly fortified town. The French historian, Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, has found that the city spent three fourths of its budget on defense during the twelve years preceding the famous siege by the English in 1428-29, which ended in the success of Joan of Arc. The opposite shore of the Loire was fortified. The people had what was termed "a good military education", for they seized their pickaxes and hurried to the fortifications as soon as an alarm was sounded. They had arrangements for pooling their food supplies during an emergency.² They had accepted, apparently without protest, a large increase in taxes to meet the cost of arming,³ and in 1420 they floated a loan in the town for the same purpose.⁴

Part of their defense consisted in sending messengers to find out about the enemy, what had happened in the cities already attacked, and what the chances of assistance from other towns were. The municipal accounts of 1411-13 mention a journey to Beaugency "to find out which direction the English were taking" and one into the Sologne for the same purpose; one to Bourges to get news of the siege in progress there and two each to Blois and Chateaudun to learn exactly where the English were.⁵ Between 1411 and 1415 messengers interviewed officials in Blois, Jargeau, Tillay-Saint-Benoit, Beaugency, and other near-by places, to get promises of help for the evacuation of the "malefactors who follow the army",⁶ and there were trips to Blois and Chartres to inquire exactly how much of a bribe had been paid in those towns in order to get rid of the English troops.⁷ For some years they depended upon the advice and assistance of a military man named de Gaules, who

¹ Read at the meeting of the American Historical Association, December 28, 1940. This paper is based on materials gathered for a history of the University of Orléans, a project that has had assistance from the American Association of University Women (European fellowship, 1928-29) and the American Council of Learned Societies. The writer wishes to express her appreciation of this assistance.

² Petit-Dutaillis, in Ernest Lavisse, ed., *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution* (Paris, 1900-1911), IV², 46.

³ Archives du Loiret, Orléans (Loiret), MS. CC 543.

⁴ *Ibid.*, MS. CC 547.

⁵ *Ibid.*, MS. CC 543.

⁶ *Ibid.*, MS. CC 544.

⁷ *Ibid.*, MS. CC 543.

inspected and criticized their fortifications, helped them avoid attacks, and tried to get rid of marauders.⁸

They did some spying. The records of 1417-19 contain an item recording money paid by a town official to a woman whose regular occupation is listed as "chambermaid for Brother Jean of Bourges, a monk". She had gone "to visit the English, who tore off her cloak and took all the money in her purse". She must have brought back information, for she was subsequently employed on two similar missions.⁹

Between 1411 and 1419 there were several spy scares in Orléans. An order went out to check up on and investigate all the aliens in the town.¹⁰ A notary visited all innkeepers and ordered them to report to the department of justice any foreigners who sought lodging with them.¹¹ One man was refused the office of master of the watch "because he kept an inn", and he was apparently under suspicion only because of this.¹² Messengers coming from the provost of Paris, who was a known Anglophile, were not allowed to remain in Orléans and were escorted out of the city as far as Saint-Jean-de-Bray to prevent them from spying in Orléans and the vicinity.¹³ There was even a whispering campaign. A rumor started to the effect that certain citizens had made a secret alliance with the king of England. The regent investigated and ordered the punishment of those who had falsely accused these townspeople.¹⁴

During the twenty years before the Great Siege the account books mention hundreds of purchases of cannon, powder, powder sacks, sulphur, saltpeter, and round stones for the cannon and catapults, the reinforcements of the gates of the city, the building of new earthworks and watchtowers, and the repair of fortifications. The city had an elaborate system of borrowing additional armaments, food, wine, and even men and lending the same to other cities which Orléans regarded as its own first line of defense. And when the city was in danger, Orléans sent frantically to its neighbors for the equipment it had lent them—some cannon in the town of Meung, a large catapult at Gien, four at Yèvre, two small cannon and six crossbows at Pithiviers, and many cannon and catapults at Portereau.¹⁵

After the siege, when there was fighting in the neighboring towns, the people of Orléans sent to Jargeau their cannon and ladders and their big catapult, with twenty horses to draw it and men to operate it. They sent powder and even the town forge to Beaugency. Later on, the large

⁸ *Ibid.*, MSS. CC 544, CC 545.

⁹ *Ibid.*, MS. CC 546.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, MSS. CC 543, CC 546.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, MS. CC 546.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, MS. CC 547.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, MSS. CC 547, CC 550.

catapult, with twenty-one horses and five hundred men, went to La Charité-sur-Loire by water.¹⁶

In time of danger the regular watch was augmented by calling out additional citizens to guard the gates and walls. An emergency was considered to exist if the enemy was within ten leagues, about twenty-five miles, from the gates.¹⁷ In 1411 the citizens of the town were all registered in order to establish a permanent eligibility list for the watch, which was to be double its previous size.¹⁸ On one occasion, when it was believed that the English were about to arrive and besiege the city, the governor himself and many citizens stood watch on the walls until midnight.¹⁹

The maintenance of this program of defense proved very expensive, and there was difficulty in tax collecting due to war conditions. In 1423, in the near-by town of Lorris, a reduction had to be made in the amount paid annually to the duke of Orléans by the leatherworkers. The sum was reduced from thirteen Paris pounds to seven, in view of destruction, death, and depopulation due to war.²⁰ In 1412 Orléans itself had to ask for the remission of the *taille* "because of war and deaths" during the two preceding years.²¹ In 1413 one of the tax farmers at Olivet, across the Loire from Orléans, had to have money refunded him. He and other tax farmers in the neighborhood had incurred heavy losses because the English and other military men had destroyed so much property.²² It was obvious that the town was in great need of money for the purchase of war supplies, repairs of fortifications, and special payments for bribes and gifts, that it needed more men to defend the town, and that it was becoming increasingly difficult to get both because of the impoverishing effects of war.

One of the serious problems was the presence in Orléans of a university, whose members enjoyed the ecclesiastical privileges of exemption from taxation and guard duty.²³ Like other universities, that of Orléans was extremely jealous of its privileges and had once migrated from Orléans to Nevers when it felt that its rights had been ignored.²⁴ The fact that Orléans was a law school made it possible for members

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, MS. CC 550. The catapult was said to be large enough to hurl a twenty-five-pound stone.

¹⁷ Marcel Fournier, *Les statuts et privilèges des universités françaises depuis leur fondation jusqu'en 1789* (Paris, 1890-94), I, no. 182.

¹⁸ Arch. Loiret, MS. CC 543. ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, MS. CC 546.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, MS. A 263. ²¹ *Ibid.*, MS. CC 543. ²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, MS. D 13; Vatican Library, MS. Ottoboni Latini 3083, contains a great many documents dealing with these Orléans privileges.

²⁴ Fournier, I, no. 55; Arch. Loiret, MS. D 14.

to defend their claims in court at little expense to themselves and at great expense to their opponents.

It seems to have been generally conceded that university members should enjoy complete exemption from these burdens, and royal orders repeatedly confirmed this.²⁵ The townspeople, however, wanted to enforce instead a rule that the university people should serve in case of any emergency, supposedly when the enemy was only ten leagues away, a rule which applied to the clergy in general.²⁶ The university protested "that professors have the duty and heavy task of reading and teaching every day for very little money, so little that these teachers, at least most of them, earn scarcely enough to maintain a standard of living suitable to the honor of the university; and that they can no longer afford the servants they once had and now need". Further, if these men were to be required to leave their work for guard duty their absence would bring destitution upon the university, injury to its reputation, and even complete destruction.²⁷ The townspeople were unimpressed, however, and sometimes seized property because of refusals to pay taxes and serve on the watch.²⁸ A similar situation in Paris had once led to the closing of classes by the professors.²⁹

The main difficulty seems to have been not with the professors themselves or even the students, but with the nonacademic staff, those citizens of the town who were employed by the faculty or by the university itself. Servants of professors and students and members of their families enjoyed university exemptions, as did also beadles, scribes, furnishers of books and parchment, notaries, and other employees.³⁰ Many of these persons had profitable business enterprises of their own, but they kept their university positions in order to enjoy the exemptions. A ruling of the year 1372 had provided that employees who held lucrative positions outside the university were to be liable for civic duties,³¹ but this does not seem to have been enforced, and there was still litigation about this matter as late as 1450.³² If we examine the lists of confiscated property, we find maces and other valuable insignia of some of the

²⁵ Vatican, MS. Ottoboni Lat. 3083; Arch. Loiret, MSS. D 11, D 12, D 13, D 15.

²⁶ "ceulx . . . qui ont ou auront bénéfice en ladite cite, en cas de peril eminent, se les ennemis . . . estoient a dix lieues près d'Orliens, seront tenus de envoier, chacun pour soy, aux murs et aux portes". In some cases the professors and students were not compelled, but urged to go, while other employees of the university were required to do so. Fournier, I, nos. 182, 298, 301. ²⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 272. ²⁸ *Ibid.*, nos. 301, 302, 303.

²⁹ Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (Oxford, 1936), I, 334-43.

³⁰ Fournier, I, nos. 182, 299, 301, 302, 303. ³¹ *Ibid.*, no. 182.

³² *Ibid.*, nos. 301, 302.

nations, but the other items run largely to barbers' basins, small stoves for heating water, the equipment of book and parchment dealers, expensive furs and other materials,³³ items not usually found in a professor's study.

Prominent members of a university occasionally served as experts in negotiations of war and peace,³⁴ but they seem to have had a conscientious objection to coming to the aid of their hosts in time of danger or to fighting a defensive war going on at their very doors. This is in strong contrast to the attitude of the university at the end of the next century, during the religious wars. There is no way of knowing how the University of Orléans would have behaved had it, like the University of Paris, been placed in the position of deciding whether to congratulate or oppose a victorious enemy. The international character of the universities may have resulted in a certain indifference to local problems, which is all the more conspicuous in view of the enthusiasm of the people of Orléans in the war of "resistance to the damnable enterprise of the English".³⁵

The burghers of Orléans learned that the cost of war does not end with the fighting. For years after the Great Siege they received claims from persons whose property had been destroyed or who had been otherwise injured. At least two of these claims were paid. A priest of Sainte-Euverte received sixteen Paris pounds toward the rebuilding of his church, which had been torn down in 1428 to prevent its use by the English to cover their attack—clearly a justifiable claim. More remarkable is the case of the indigent painter who received compensation of eight pounds, more than ten years after the siege, because he was "stricken with the disease of gout . . . which disease is said to have come upon him because of his great exertion in defense of the town while the English besieged it!"³⁶

DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN.

Duke University.

³³ *Ibid.*, no. 303. One of these lists includes: "sur Pierre Guenet, bedel de la nacion d'Escosse, ung bacin neuf à barbier: sur Jehan Guymonneau, parcheminier de la dicte Université, cinquante six livres de cuivre et une escuelle d'estain . . . ung bacin a laver mains, deux chaufferettes et ung pot d'estain de trois chopines . . . une marmite de cuivre . . . une robe perse fourrée de pointes de gris à usage de femme . . . une paesle d'airin, tenant environs deux seaulx".

³⁴ Three masters from Paris had been among the negotiators at the Treaty of Troyes, March, 1420. Cf. Heinrich Denifle and Émile Chatelain, eds., *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1889-97), IV, no. 2155.

³⁵ "pour entretenir leur loiauté et resister à la dampnable entreprinse des Anglois". Arch. Loiret, MS. CC 550.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, MS. CC 556.

DOCUMENTS

JOHN ADAMS SPEAKS HIS MIND

IN 1856 Charles Francis Adams published in his *The Works of John Adams* a letter written by the second President to William Tudor on June 5, 1817.¹ With strict propriety, the editor indicated the omission of a portion of the letter.

The original of this letter is now in the possession of Mr. Frederick S. Peck, Belton Court, Barrington, Rhode Island, who has generously consented to the republication of it in its entirety.

The material omitted by Charles Francis Adams comprises three paragraphs in which John Adams expresses himself with unusual frankness, and in a very uncomplimentary manner, regarding the two men adjudged by posterity to be the greatest of his American contemporaries—George Washington and Benjamin Franklin. His strictures upon those two gentlemen throw into high relief the fulsome praise which he bestows upon James Otis, Samuel Adams, and John Hancock as the “three most essential characters” of the American Revolution; and they afford convincing proof of the truth of his subsequent remark that, while he envied “none of the well-merited glories of Virginia” or of Pennsylvania, he was “jealous, very jealous, of the honor of Massachusetts”.²

The letter is here printed with the spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals found in the original. The section omitted by Charles Francis Adams is set in italic type.

JAMES B. HEDGES.

Brown University.

JOHN ADAMS TO WILLIAM TUDOR

Quincy June 5th 1817.

Dear Sir

You “never profoundly admired Mr. H.” I have suggested some hints in his favour. You “never profoundly admired Mr. S. A.”. I have promised you an Apology for him. You may think it a weak one: for I have no Talent at Panegyrick or Apology.

“There are All Sorts of Men in the World”. This observation, you may say is self evident and futile; Yet Mr. Lock thought it not unworthy of him

¹ X (Boston, 1856), 262-66.

² John Adams to William Wirt, January 5, 1818, *ibid.*, pp. 271-72.

to make it; and if we reflect upon it there is more meaning in it, than meets the Eye at the first blush.

You Say Mr. S. A. "had too much Sternness and pious bigotry". A Man in his Situation and Circumstances must profess a large fund of Sternness of Stuff, or he will soon be annihilated. His Piety ought not to be objected to him or any other Man. His Bigotry, if he had any, was a fault: but he certainly had not more than Governor Hutchinson and Secretary Oliver, who I know from personal conversations, were as stanch Trinitarians and Calvinists as he was, and treated all Arrians and Arminians with more Contempt and Scorn, than he ever did. Mr. Adams lived and conversed freely with all Sectarians in Philosophy and Divinity. He never imposed his Creed on any one, nor endeavoured to make proselites to his religious Opinions. He was as far from Sentencing any Man to perdition who differed from him, as Mr. Holly Dr. Kirkland or Dr. Freeman. If he was a Calvinist, a Calvinist he had been educated and so had been all his Ancestors for two hundred years. He had been from his Childhood, too much devoted to Politicks to be a profound Student in Metaphysicks and Theology, or to make extensive Researches or deep investigations into Such Subjects. Nor had any other Man attempted it in this Nation in that Age, if any one has attempted it since. Mr. Adams was an original. *Sui generis, Sui Juris*. The variety of human Characters is infinite. Nature seems to delight in showing the inexhaustibility of her resources. There never were two Men alike, from The first Man to the last, any more than two Pebbles or two Peas.

Mr. Adams was born and tempered a Wedge of Steel, to Split the knot of Lignum Vitae which tied North America to Great Britain. Blunder-headed as were the British Ministry, they had Sagacity enough to discriminate from all others, for inexorable Vengeance, the two Men the most to be dreaded by them, Samuel Adams and John Hancock; and had not James Otis been then dead or worse than dead his Name would have been at the head of THE TRIUMVIRATE.

I very well know that I shall expose myself to the Scorn of Fools the Censure of many wise Men and the Compassion of many others by what I am about to say. But Seriously reviewing all my Reminiscences and with equal Sobriety drawing Conclusions from them I must not be intimidated by Such Arguments or Such Apprehensions or Such Menaces.

It is the Opinion of the World in The present Century, was so of the last, and will probably be so of all future Ages, that Franklin and Washington were The two great Agents in the American Revolution; the two Guardian Angels, the two benevolent Demons who presided over the Destinies of North America.

This Opinion, if I have any knowledge of anything, I know to be a delusion. The glory of these two Luminaries was made to be dazzling: but their Lustre was reflected. They were Moons illuminated by Suns concealed from the sight of Nations by interposing clouds. They were Rainbows glowing in the heavens, when nothing but Rain and Clouds are to be seen upon the Earth. The Suns that produced them were out of sight, They were often usefull Instruments in the hands of others; but, to my certain Knowledge they were as often terrible Embarrassments. They were both not only Superficial but ignorant. Franklins practical cunning united with his theoretick Ignorance render him one of the most curious Characters in History.

James Otis, Samuel Adams and John Hancock were the three most essential Characters; and Great Britain knew it; though America does not. Great and important and excellent Characters, aroused and excited by these, arose in Pennsylvania Virginia, New York, South Carolina and in all the other States: but these three were the first Movers, the most constant Steady persevering Springs, Agents, and most disinterested Sufferers and firmest Pillars of the whole Revolution.

I shall not attempt even to draw the Outlines of the Biography of Mr. Samuel Adams. Who can attempt it?

"Quae ante conditam, condendamve Urbem, poetis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis, traduntur, ea" nec possum refellere. Quia non tempus, nec oculos, nec manus habeo. But if I had time Eyes and fingers at my command where should I find documents and Memorials? Without the Character of Samuel Adams, the true History of the American Revolution, can never be written. For fifty years his Pen, his Tongue his Activity were constantly exerted for his Country, without Fee or reward. During all that time he was an almost incessant Writer. But where are his Writings? Who can collect them? And if collected Who will ever read them? The Letters he wrote and received where are they? I have Seen him at Mrs. Yards in Phyladelphia, when he was about to leave Congress cut up with his Scissors, whole Bundles of Letters, into atoms, that could never be reunited, and throw them out at the Window, to be Scattered by the Winds. This was in Summer when he had no fire. In Winter, he threw whole handfulls into the fire. As we were on terms of perfect intimacy, I have joked him, perhaps rudely upon his anxious caution. His answer was "Whatever becomes of me, my Friends shall never Suffer by my Negligence."

This may be thought a less Significant Anecdote, than another. Mr. Adams left the Letters he had received and preserved in Possession of his Widow. This Lady, as was natural, lent them to a confidential Friend of her Husband, Mr. Avery who then was and had been Secretary of the Commonwealth under the Administrations of Mr. Adams and Mr. Hancock. Mr. Avery informed me, that he had them and that they "were a compleat History of the Revolution." I will not say, into whose hands they fell after Mr. Avery's death, and I cannot say where they are now. But I have heard that a Gentleman in Charleston, Mr. Austin undertook to write the Life of Mr. Adams; but finding his Papers had been so garbled that the Truth could not be discovered he abandoned his design. Never will those Letters which Secretary Avery possessed, ever be brought together again; nor will they ever be found. So much for Mr. Adams, at present. Now for Mr. Otis.

I write no Biographies or Biographical Sketches. I give only hints. James Otis was descended from our most ancient Families; his Education was the best his Country afforded; he was bred to the Bar under Mr. Gridley, the greatest Lawyer and the greatest Classic Schollar I ever knew at any Bar. His application was incessant and indefatigable. Justice Richard Dana has often told me, that the Appartment in which Otis Studied when a Pupil and a Clerk of Mr. Gridley was near his House; that he had watched him from day to day; and that he had never known a Student in Law so punctual so steady so constant and persevering. Accordingly as soon as he was admitted to the Bar, he became a conspicuous Figure. And among whom? Gridley, Pratt, Trowbridge, and he was much admired, and as much celebrated as any of them. His generous, manly noble Character as a

private Gentleman, his uncommon attainments in Litterature, especially in the Law, and his nervous commanding Eloquence at the Bar were every where spoken of. The Government soon discerned his Superiority and commissioned him Advocate General. He married a Lady who in that day, was esteemed a Fortune. From 1755 to 1758 I heard my Master Colonel James Putnam of Worcester who was a critical Judge, and Mr. Trowbridge the then Attorney General and his Lady Constantly Speaking of Otis as the greatest, the most learned, the most manly and the most honest young Man of his age. All this was before I had ever Seen Mr. Otis. I never saw him till late in the Autumn of 1758, nor Mr. Samuel Adams till after that Year.

To Summ up, in a few Words, the two Young Men whom I have known to enter the Stage of Life with the most luminous, unclouded Prospects and the best founded hopes, were James Otis and John Hancock. They were both essential to the Revolution and both fell Sacrifices to it.

Mr. Otis from 1760 to 1770 had Correspondences in this Province in New England in the middle and Southern Colonies in England in Scotland. What is become of these Letters and Answers?

Mr. Otis soon after my earliest acquaintance with him lent me a Summary of Greek Prosody of his own Collection and composition; a Work of profound learning and great labour. I had it six months in my possession before I returned it. Since my return from Europe, I asked his Daughter, whether she had found that Work among her Fathers Manuscripts? She answered me with a countenance of Woe, that you may more easily imagine than I can describe, that "She had not a line from her Fathers Pen."! That "He had spent much time and taken great pains to collect together all his Letters and other Papers, and in one of his Unhappy Moments committed them all to the Flames". I have used her own Expressions.

Such has been the Fate of the Memorials of Mr. J. Otis and Mr. Sam. Adams. It was not without Reason then that I wrote to Mr. Niles of Baltimore, that the true History of the American Revolution is lost forever. I could write Volumes of other proofs of the Same Truth, before during and Since the Revolution. But *cui bono*? They would be read by very few, and by very few of those few would be credited; and by this minimum of a few would be imputed to the Vanity Egotism, ill humor, Envy Jealousy and disappointed Ambition of your Sincere Friend John Adams; for the Character of this Nation is Strangely altered.

Judge Tudor.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

The Great Cultural Traditions: The Foundations of Civilization. By RALPH TURNER. Volume I, *The Ancient Cities*; Volume II, *The Classical Empires*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1941. Pp. xviii, 601, xxiv; xv, 602-1333, xxxii. \$4.00 each.)

THESE two large volumes, designed for courses in ancient history and world civilization, provide the most satisfactory general history of the great civilizations and cultural traditions of mankind now available. The first volume traces the beginnings of cultural developments among preliterate men and carries the account down to the founding of the traditional Asiatic and European "urban cultures". The second volume, on the "Classical Empires", deals with these same urban cultures in their "imperial phase and decline" down to about the sixth century A.D.

The scope and length of the work inevitably call forth a comparison with earlier attempts at the writing of world history, including those by Spengler and Toynbee. The reviewer believes that it is not only to be ranked with these but outranks them in three important respects. In the first place, it is based upon the most recent findings and researches of the archaeologists and historians in all the areas which it covers. This is important, of course, in view of the large amount of new materials brought to light during the past decade not only in the Mediterranean area and the Near East but also in China and India. In his use of the studies based upon these materials Dr. Turner has acknowledged the aid and advice of a long list of specialists in the various fields covered.

In the second place, in adopting what has come to be called "the cultural approach to history" the author has been led to transcend the oversimplified and at times crude interpretations of the economic, geographic, and racial determinists, as well as the inadequate and often superficial accounts of those who have written history in the restricted light of the activities and thought of the ruling classes or bearers of the "high tradition" in a particular culture. From the author's point of view, "there is no one interpretation of history" (p. 1324). In his work we find no rigid patterning of the course of history nor any mechanical compilation of events and developments unenlightened by interpretations. Borrowing the concepts of "culture" and "social process" from the social sciences of anthropology, human geography, social psychology, etc., Dr. Turner has made use of them to achieve his goal of historical synthesis, which he defines as "the integration of data . . . so

that history becomes increasingly understandable as social movement in time" (Vol. I, p. ix). In so doing he has employed the terminology and concepts of the social scientists with restraint and without dogmatism. As the first outstanding effort made by a ranking American historian to apply the "cultural approach" to the writing of world history, his work warrants careful consideration and a fair appraisal.

Finally, this work surpasses other attempts at the writing of world history because of the proportionately larger amount of space devoted to the cultures of China and India and the interrelationships between these cultural areas and those in the Near East. After reading the sections of the work devoted to China, the reviewer has been led to reverse the usual criticism made by scholars of general works to the effect that they are good in every area except their own special fields and to assert that, if the author has dealt as competently with all other cultures as he has with that of China, then this work is an extraordinary achievement. One is inclined to go further and assert that a majority of students in the field of Far Eastern history and civilization, excluding those specialists such as Bishop, Creel, White, Duyvendak, Dubs, and Bodde, upon whose researches he has largely based his account, will find his treatment of the development of Chinese cultural traditions suggestive and revealing. Particularly is this true of the final chapter, in which he compares phases and aspects of Chinese culture with those of the other great cultural traditions of the Near East and Europe.

What has been written above is not meant to imply that errors of fact and possibly at times of interpretation have not crept into the account. Thus, for example, paper was certainly and not "probably" made in the first half of the second Christian century in China, as the earliest known samples of Chinese paper date from about 150 A.D. and not the sixth or seventh century (p. 816). Errors such as these can, of course, readily be corrected in later editions. As this work will find widespread use as a text, specialists in the various fields covered will be rendering a service to the general cause of education if they will take the time to inform the author of the errors they detect and the points of view or of interpretation with which they find themselves in disagreement. It is to be hoped that the publishers will find it possible to get out a cheaper and perhaps a one-volume edition at a price considerably below that now being asked, so that this exceptional work may secure the widest possible use, which its outstanding merits justify. Each of the two volumes is provided with an exceptionally full index; and their attractiveness and value are enhanced by aptly chosen illustrations and a series of clearly drawn colored maps, accompanied by charts graphically portraying the rise and spread of the great cultural traditions which undergird the civilizations of the modern world.

Columbia University.

CYRUS H. PEAKE.

The Social Life of Primitive Man. By SYLVESTER A. SIEBER and FRANZ H. MUELLER. [Social Studies College Series, edited by Franz Mueller in co-operation with Rev. Eugene A. Cullinane, Walter J. Marx.] (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company. 1941. Pp. xiii, 566. \$3.50.)

THIS book is meant to be an exposition of the theories of the culture historical or culture circle school, led in recent times by Father Wilhelm Schmidt of Vienna.

The aim of the authors is to provide "a general social history that proposes to start with the very origins of human social life". Their method rests on a fundamental assumption which few anthropologists will accept, that "the primitives of today have preserved in isolation the culture stages of the past through which man progressed". This bit of deduction necessitates another: "Since instances of various culture levels exist contemporaneously, we must have some methodological means to show that this or that level is older or more recent, as the case may be." The "means" has been found in the concept of the culture circle, which the authors justify thus: "So, for the sake of study, we must also draw up culture patterns (laboratory specimens), that is, the culture circles and describe them as though they always and actually appeared in this pure form. These chemically pure culture circles, if we may use such an expression, are for us, following the lead of Max Weber, ideal types in the social sciences."

A culture circle is defined as a "culture complex which embraces all the essential categories of human life,—economic, social, political, aesthetic, ethical, and religious". Culture circles are arranged in stages, primitive, primary, and secondary. Each of these stages is said to contain three culture circles; nine in all, therefore, are described in the book. Tribes placed in a culture circle of the primitive stage are there "because in all the departments of their culture they exhibit phenomena which all unbiased anthropologists accept as the simplest and most archaic of mankind. . . . From the standpoint of their economy they are the food gatherers." The representatives of the primary stage are "food producers"; they are horticulturists, advanced hunters, or cattle raisers. "The three primary culture circles form the substratum, so to say, of all later developments. They do in fact mingle and fuse in lively fashion. These combinations give rise to the subsequent cultural stage which Father Schmidt calls the secondary cultures."

Another stage, the tertiary, is mentioned but not discussed; it "is none other than the earliest high cultures and civilizations of Asia, Europe and America, as they are known to us from classical history".

The essential theoretical framework is an evolutionary scheme; there is no other way to interpret such a statement as this: "we must accept these primitive peoples as living witnesses to the history of man as it transpired in ages long ago. Those of mankind who were taken into the current that grew into what we call civilization passed through the same stages." Yet

the authors (who identify evolution, biological and social, with materialism) formally repudiate the *term* in every chapter!

The greater part of the book is an exceedingly uninspired, poorly written, and frequently inaccurate (see definition of clan on p. 117) description of the alleged elements and associated tribes of each culture circle. In the attempt to force tribes into the theoretical strait jacket and to explain all exceptions by the "mingling and fusion" of the culture circles, considerable damage is done to ethnographic fact, and much culture history is simply invented. Recommended for those who suffer from insomnia are passages like this: "The means of transportation in the Primitive culture are also very primitive. Since roads and highways do not exist and since riding animals and pack animals are not raised, the only available method of transportation is by water." The insertion of pretentious terms such as "planitional acculturation" and "ergology" provides contrast but does not convince. A work which equates the cultures of the Hopi, Maya, Aztecs, and West Africans with developments in "the lower strata of the Lower Paleolithic", which culls most of its examples from textbooks instead of from sources, which confuses a particular Christian religious doctrine with native motivations, and which exhibits repeated errors even in the bibliography, gives one pause for reflection in these days of paper shortage.

Claremont Colleges.

MORRIS EDWARD OPLER.

The Intellectual History of Europe, from Saint Augustine to Marx: A Guide.

By FREDERICK B. ARTZ, Oberlin College. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1941. Pp. xix, 139. \$1.75.)

A Brief Survey of Medieval Europe. By CARL STEPHENSON, Professor of History, Cornell University. [Harper's Historical Series, under the Editorship of Guy Stanton Ford.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1941. Pp. xviii, 426. \$2.25.)

Western Civilizations: Their History and their Culture. By EDWARD McNALL BURNS, Assistant Professor of History, Rutgers University. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1941. Pp. xx, 926. \$4.35.)

The Development of Western Civilization. By C. GROVE HAINES and WARREN B. WALSH, Syracuse University. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1941. Pp. xvi, 1062. \$4.50.)

A guide to the intellectual history of Europe from St. Augustine to Marx (including Plato and Darwin as well), closely tied to about fifty of the texts involved and actually intended for students already possessing some knowledge of medieval and modern history, is something really new. The author suggests the content of parallel lectures, supplies questions, and has the courage to state that the student will profit only as his own ability and culture allow. Philosophy, literature, science, and art have been stressed throughout: selected lists of university prints and music recordings, chosen

intelligently and with taste, are appended. There is a valuable list of inexpensive editions of the authors concerned, and there is a useful list, unfortunately neither classified nor critical, of general references. The questions provided, although often stimulating, are certainly too numerous and often too specific. The selection of men treated has been carefully made, but the reviewer misses Boethius, feels that Abélard and Aquinas deserve individual consideration (Aquinas does not even appear in the index), and regrets the relative neglect of Erasmus, Calvin, Rabelais, Bossuet, and Montesquieu. The merits of the book, however, are many and real. It possesses clarity and good sense. Professor Artz has opened a pathway which many teachers and students will find helpful.

Professor Stephenson's *Brief Survey* is an excellent shorter history of the Middle Ages based upon his recent and well-received longer text. The condensation has been skillfully done, and the publishers have provided an admirable format. In a disarming preface the author states that he still has much to learn about his subject and that history is not made easier by calling it the history of civilization. His publishers insist, however, that it is for courses in the history of civilization that this book has been specially designed. Can such courses use 372 pages on the Middle Ages? (The volumes reviewed below average about 200.) Can the gist of the Middle Ages profitably be presented in less? The reviewer feels that Professor Stephenson, despite much compression, has still managed to avoid an undue sense of haste. We probably could have been spared Muawiya, Alp Arslan, and one or two others equally unfamiliar; the chapter on Graeco-Roman culture surely has too many names; we certainly should have been spared the elaborate tables and charts retained from the larger volume. The illustrations from the same source, however, are superb, although frequently without adequate cross references in either direction to relevant but distant portions of the text. The author seems more at home in the period before 1200 than in that after, in social and institutional history than in political or intellectual, and is at his best in the chapters on Carolingian Society and Feudalism. There is much good sense on the Renaissance despite a provocative superlative for Comines. Technological developments in the Middle Ages have been slighted. The book in general, however, is up to date and informed: it clearly represents able teaching of the subject as well as ample knowledge. The list of suggested readings is critical and helpful. The writing is direct and often spirited, despite at least nineteen appearances of the word "famous". The book, in a word, is an excellent condensation of the history of the Middle Ages, probably our best. The reviewer doubts that it is brief enough or thin enough to be of much use in the more general courses for which it seems to be planned.

Professor Burns, in a textbook for the introductory course in European history, attempts to ignore or slight no major scene or event in the whole

human drama within the area of western Asia, northern Africa, Europe, and America, from the earliest beginnings to the present time. Mere political history has been subordinated to intellectual, social, economic, and artistic developments. The purpose of the book is to present a compact survey of man's struggles, achievements, and failures within these *limits*, all from a single, unified viewpoint and all in line with the New History. The author, who confesses to much experience in teaching upperclassmen in every field of European history, seems to have succeeded remarkably well in what is obviously an impossible task. Careful planning, ingenious arrangement, and vigorous writing have accomplished much, though hardly enough. The first section, The Dawn of Cultural Evolution, is beautifully done but will surely be lost on the freshman who has not already read the rest of the book. The Sumerians (p. 81) are clearly presented but will swamp any reader who does not already know them well. Section IV, The New Religious Civilizations of the Early Middle Ages, has an arresting title, but it has been stretched, perforce, to include the early Germans. There is either too much or too little in the section on the intellectual history of the Middle Ages. The crusades are curiously placed chronologically. The word "famous" appears six times on pages 359-65. Space has been allotted to music with doubtful results. There are excellent pages, however, on the Reformation, on the Industrial Revolutions, upon the meaning of democracy, and upon many other topics. Wars have actually been reduced to a minimum, although one must question the value of retaining them at all under such conditions (*e.g.*, the wars of the despots, 1485-1789, in less than five pages). The book rests on standard authorities, is well supplied with good summary paragraphs at suitable intervals, and offers excellent but uncritical suggestions for further reading. The illustrations are first-rate and the maps novel and unusually instructive. The publishers are justified in their claim that the work of Liam Dunne on the maps constitutes an important feature of the book and strikes a new note in textbook cartography.

Professors Haines and Walsh view the material of European history not merely as an end in itself but also as an illustration of what they consider the major truths and trends of social development. Their selection of material has been carefully made, and the compression poundage is high. A combination of the topical and the chronological approach has resulted in some ingenious sequences, marred, unfortunately, by much repetition and some confusion. (Even the authors themselves sometimes get mixed up: the reader is reminded on page 208 of an essential *previous* account of the quarrel between Innocent III and John which actually appears *subsequently* on page 266.) The first section of each chapter places its main topic in its proper setting; much labor has been devoted to these sections, and many of them are admirably written. The chapter headings are unusually interesting though perhaps at times slightly puzzling. Who could be quite sure that

"The Principle of Self-Sufficiency", "The Worldliness of the Bourgeoisie", "The Triumphant Defeat of the People", and "The Shackles of Tradition" would actually turn out to be, respectively, our old friends Feudalism, the Renaissance, the French Revolution, and the Era of Metternich? The treatment of England in the Middle Ages, often inaccurate, is consistently poor; the chapter on England from 1603 to 1783 is badly overloaded with facts. There are too many names on the pages subsequent to 1800. The maps provided are without distinction and inadequate. Suggestions for further reading are brief and uncritical. The general bibliography, too largely confined to textbooks, lists ten other books similar to this one, not including the Burns reviewed above, all published, with one exception, since 1935!

The Burns and the Haines-Walsh volumes certainly furnish the reader with a lot for his money. They both claim, substantially, omniscience. This claim has been supported in both cases with much industry, ingenuity, and skill. Despite their comprehensive nature, both volumes have attained a surprising degree of reasonably objective integration. That they both cover too much ground and cover it too rapidly would be hard to deny. The extent of the success of these two volumes, from the viewpoint of the teaching and study of history, is difficult to measure but cannot, in the nature of things, be overwhelming.

Smith College.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD.

A History of Hungary. By DOMINIC G. KOSÁRY, Professor of History, Eötvös College, Budapest. With a Foreword by Professor JULIUS SZEKFÜ. [Publications of the Benjamin Franklin Bibliophile Society, Volume II.] (New York: the Society. 1941. Pp. xxxi, 482. \$2.75.)

THIS is a very cautious book which, besides its historical purpose, has manifestly a diplomatic aim too: to put Hungary, the ally of the Axis, into a favorable light before democratic, English-speaking opinion. These two aims remain tolerably co-ordinated in the chapters which treat of the more remote parts of Hungarian history, but, analyzing modern developments, roughly speaking, from the Compromise of 1867 to our own days, the intention becomes hiddenly propagandistic. The last four chapters are scarcely more than the widely spread blueprints of the Horthy press bureau, which try to whitewash Hungarian feudalism of the responsibility for the collapse of the country after the first World War and to put all the odium of the catastrophe on the shoulders of the democratic republic, which tried to save what could be saved after the military debacle.

Concerning the older Hungarian history the book shows some improvements compared with the previous official and semiofficial Hungarian historiography, which, with a few honorable exceptions, used to describe past history in a light favorable to feudalism, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Habsburgs. After the convulsions of the World War and the defeat,

these powers have become less formidable, and even a "respectable" historian can treat them with some criticism, even reproach. The dynasty being now removed from the Hungarian throne, contemporary Hungarian historians assume a more independent and critical outlook toward the former masters.

In the chapters devoted to remote Hungarian history, the American reader will find new facts and explanations which put into a more realistic light what was generally known about Hungarian history. (The excellent handbook written in English by Professor Armenius Vámbéry is now in many parts antiquated, though in certain respects it is still more revealing than that of the commentators of today.) But even concerning the past, Professor Kosáry never goes into the depth of those economic and social problems, into an analysis of the class structure of Hungarian society, which explain the short splendor of Hungarian history and the terrible tragedy at Mohács and the Turkish conquest.

These faults grow stronger and stronger when the author approaches modern Hungarian history and especially the recent developments after the first World War. In these chapters he is in a not very enviable position, because he tries to glorify the activity of Louis Kossuth, his enlightened plan of a Danubian federation, the wise nationality law of Francis Deák, the fight against Habsburg absolutism (manifestly for the delight of the American readers). On the other hand, he defends the system of Dualism, denies the facts of the oppression of the national minorities, makes a "conservative-liberal" of the iron Junker, Count Tisza, has great appreciation for the statesmanly vision of Count Stephen Bethlen (who has falsified the democratic agrarian law of the Károlyi government and suppressed universal suffrage), and has boundless admiration for Admiral Horthy, the founder of the white terroristic system. But he is cautious and circumspect enough not to accept entirely the accusations of the Budapest press bureau against the democratic republic. Károlyi is no longer a Catiline criminal, and the present reviewer is not an ordinary traitor who has sold his country to the insurgent second-rank nationalities. Their crime is rather the fact that, after the collapse of all the fronts and of the German military power, they did not defend by armed force the territorial integrity of the Holy Crown of St. Stephen, and that they were so naïve as to offer a federation of equal nations to the various nationality groups of the country instead of using the "big stick" to compel them to accept the nationality law of Francis Deák, which was never respected and was always crudely falsified during two generations. It is easy to understand from the point of view of this philosophy of history that the bloody suppression of the Austrian Republic, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia through Munich, and the later Vienna decisions appear to the author as facts of Destiny, and he proudly states that the great territorial gains of Hungary, as a gift of Hitler, were purely peaceful achievements and Hungary magnanimously did not resort to arms. With this

noble accord of pacifism, after twenty-five years of irredentism and preparation for war, even sentimental peace ladies may find satisfaction in this generous book.

Oberlin College.

OSCAR JÁSZI.

Studies in British History. By CHESTER KIRBY, RALPH TURNER, ARTHUR G. UMSCHIED, LEONIDAS DODSON, JAMES HAMILTON ST. JOHN, G. P. CUTTINO, C. E. MARSHALL, GORDON W. PRANGE. CORNELIUS WILLIAM DE KIEWIET, Editor. [University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Iowa City: the University. 1941. Pp. 231. \$1.00.)

THIS volume of essays, compiled as a tribute to the career of Professor Harry Grant Plum, celebrates his forty-five years of service as teacher at the University of Iowa. Through the words of Professor de Kiewiet the reader can picture Professor Plum as he sat with his books around him.

Students stepped into his office, took the book they wanted from his shelves and wrote down their names on a slip of paper that they stuck on one of those spikes that tradesmen once used for their daily accounts. But it was his mind far more than his library that he made available to his students. They came to him because he was admired—few left him who had not sought and won his friendship too.

Of Professor Plum's active work as a historian the introduction says: "he reflected as seriously as any, and read more than most. But the result was principally given to his classes and seminars." What more appropriate than that those who studied with him and served beside him should do honor to his work in essays which drew upon his inspiration and advice.

All but one of these essays deal with some phase of England's domestic or colonial history and thereby declare Professor Plum's main interest. The range in time is wide; from Dr. Cuttino's account of Bishop Langton's mission in 1296 and 1297 to Professor Umscheid's study of trade and depression in late nineteenth century England. No less wide is the range in space. Professor Prange discusses the career of Beust as Austrian foreign minister, 1866-71; Professor Dodson, the period of government by council in Virginia from 1706 to 1710. We have a considerable variety of topics over and above that suggested by the preceding essays. Dr. Turner describes the cultural significance of Manchester as it grew into a great industrial center. Professor St. John discusses the work of Edward Dummer as originator of the first transatlantic packets. Dr. Marshall compares the colonial systems of England and Spain, and Professor Kirby shows how the literature of certain English field sports grew during the period 1671-1850.

Space does not allow examination of these essays, though all of them merit it, for they set forth new facts and new interpretations. But Dr. Cuttino's contribution is in a category of its own. It prints with an appropriate introduction twenty-six pages of text, reproducing in detail the ac-

counts of Bishop Langton's embassy, when Edward I sent him to the Continent to build up a group of allies on the northern and eastern borders of France.

Two other contributions may be briefly mentioned because they are primarily interpretative. Dr. Marshall contrasts the colonial systems of England and Spain, emphasizing the treatment of native populations by the two powers. A vivid contrast he does create, but he leaves the reader wondering about its value. For seldom does he discriminate among the many, sometimes diverse, stages in British and Spanish colonial policies. Moreover, he sometimes seems to be comparing what British colonists did with what Spanish colonists were intended to do by the declared policy of their home government.

Dr. Turner discusses the cultural significance of Manchester as a growing industrial center. He concludes—and his arguments are convincing—that Manchester provides an excellent early example of the new industrial culture of modern Europe; a culture worthy of the name, because it produced, out of the wreckage of the previous agricultural society, a new group of related economic, social, and intellectual institutions.

Cornell University.

F. G. MARCHAM.

Sea Power and British North America, 1783-1820: A Study in British Colonial Policy. By GERALD S. GRAHAM, Assistant Professor of History, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. [Harvard Historical Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 302. \$3.50.)

The Atlantic System: The Story of Anglo-American Control of the Seas. By FORREST DAVIS. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1941. Pp. xvi, 363. \$3.00.)

The Destiny of Sea Power and its Influence on Land Power and Air Power. By JOHN PHILIPS CRANWELL. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1941. Pp. 262. \$2.75.)

THE reader approaching these three books with the idea that they are primarily works in the field of naval history will be disappointed unless he knows his Mahan well enough to realize that commerce, government, and air and land power should be regarded as adjuncts of sea power. The first of these books is a history of the Navigation Acts as they affected British North America from 1780 to 1820, the second is a history of Anglo-American relations that pleads a cause, and the third is an attempt to apply the principles of naval warfare of the past to land and air warfare of the future.

Mr. Graham has written an excellent, scholarly account of the Navigation Acts as they affected Canada and the British colonies in North America. He contends that these acts were designed to increase the sea power of England more than they were designed to increase the economic wealth of England. Most of the volume is used to show that in spite of the desire to

increase sea power, the acts were first circumvented and finally discarded because they did not meet the economic necessities of the day. The North Atlantic fisheries, the triangular trade, and the attempts to discourage settlement of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia were all parts of a grand scheme to develop the British merchant marine as an auxiliary for the navy, and the fisheries as a "nursery for seamen", so that they could be used by the navy in time of national emergency. The breakdown of this system is explained by using the trade in rum, wheat, timber, and contraband as examples. The attempts to uphold the system of monopoly of the carrying and fishing trades, on the basis of need for command of the sea, are well described.

The author provides no bibliography, but a bibliographical note and adequate footnotes indicate the good use made of material in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa, the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, the Public Records Office Colonial Papers, and the British Museum. Extensive use has been made of such contemporary newspapers as the *Quebec Gazette*, the *Acadian Record*, and the *Halifax Chronicle*, as well as of the more important secondary works. A point of particular interest is Mr. Graham's statement that after 1783 "the majority of British vessels did not take the triangular route . . . the anticipated large-scale triangular trade scheme from Britain did not develop, and the misunderstanding of its actual performance has tended to become one of the innumerable fictions of history" (p. 60). The statistics to support this statement seem indisputable. It is to be regretted that such a splendid study should be marred by poor reproduction of the three maps included, which have been so reduced in size as to make the place names unreadable. The book has been carefully indexed.

Mr. Davis's book is a history of Anglo-American co-operation in the "Atlantic system" described by Henry Adams. The thesis is that the two nations have had their disputes since 1815, but in times of stress, when domination of the Atlantic by a third power has appeared threatening, they have acted in unison. It is said that the United States went to war in 1917 to prevent possible domination of the Atlantic by Germany. The study leans heavily on collections of published letters, memoirs, newspapers, and periodical literature. It is well written, interesting reading, and has been provided with a good bibliography and index. The chief criticism of the book is not that facts are inaccurate but that they are distorted and selected to prove the author's point. The final impression of the book is that another writer could use the same materials from which *The Atlantic System* was written and come to the opposite conclusion. The more objective type of scholar would probably find his conclusions somewhere between the two.

Mr. Cranwell's volume lacks footnotes, bibliography, and index; in the usual sense of the word it is not a "scholarly" study. But it is one of the most thought-provoking pieces of writing in the field of military and naval history that has come forth in recent years. One wishes that historians would

more often write as Mr. Cranwell does, that is, using their knowledge of the past to try to set up some general rules for the future. The author believes that if the development of sea warfare is studied and the lessons learned therefrom are applied to war on land and in the air, the future will see fleets of tanks and planes, just as we now see fleets of ships. Land fleets will have their counterparts of battleships, cruisers, and destroyers—so will air fleets. The nation that first recognizes and adapts the lessons of the history of naval warfare to land and air warfare will achieve control of both land and air.

War at sea has gone through two stages—"motorization" and "mechanization". "Motorization" means the movement of men to the scene of action by machines. "Mechanization" means the supplanting of the man by the machine as the actual unit of combat. Naval warfare had passed through the stage of "motorization" by the fifteenth century, when the emphasis changed from the desire to get men close together for individual combat to an emphasis on a desire to keep them apart and let the ship and the cannon do the fighting. From Drepana and the "corvus" to Lepanto, naval warfare underwent no great change, nor did it differ greatly from land warfare except in the factor of "motorization". From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century the emphasis in war at sea passed from individual combat to exaltation of a machine—the ship as a vehicle for carrying the gun. Nelson represented the epitome of the first stage of "mechanization" of sea warfare—the triumph of the navigator and the gunner. The contest between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* (Merrimac) represented the final victory of "mechanization", and Jutland was but a further step, in which the machine had become more complicated and more efficient.

This review gives little more than the germ of Mr. Cranwell's idea, which he expounds at length. A number of historical inaccuracies did not seriously detract from the present reviewer's appreciation of the essentially sound speculative nature of the book.

Library of Congress.

WALDO CHAMBERLIN.

Sea Power in the Machine Age. By BERNARD BRODIE. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. viii. 466. \$3.75.)

IN this distinguished selection of the Scientific Book Club, Dr. Bernard Brodie has made a major contribution to the scholarly study of modern naval warfare. Where the Sprouts, Davis, and Marder have adopted a political approach, Dr. Brodie is primarily concerned with the "New Technology" and the effects of the Industrial Revolution on the changing balance of sea power. It is the first connected study of all the great naval inventions of the last century and a half and, even more valuable, the first attempt to link each of them with the general problems of naval strategy. Steam, the iron-hulled warship, armor and the big gun, the submarine, and

the airplane are discussed in turn, while the even wider implications of all of them begin to appear in the author's remarks on "Geography and the Fuel Problem" and "Naval Inventions and National Policy". Though steam, for example, has "given an increased certainty and quickness of movement to fleets", it has also imposed upon them "new fetters of an inexorably binding character". A battle fleet's gain in speed and mobility has been more than balanced by its loss in staying power, that "daring and far-reaching sweep" which made the English sailing navy the policeman of the seven seas. While the world's great land masses have been growing ever more interdependent economically, they have, ominously enough, been growing more independent militarily, and, as the general public is gradually beginning to realize, a temporarily successful aggressor is becoming increasingly difficult to dislodge. Though some of Dr. Brodie's reflections on the present naval war may well be wide of the mark, his general interpretation of the historical importance of the great naval inventions is indispensable.

The story of the British navy's amazing adaptability in the face of these great changes in the technological bases of its power forms another major theme in Dr. Brodie's work, and we can at least hope that even the airplane will eventually be turned against her enemies as successfully as she changed from wood and sail to iron and steam. The chief weakness of Dr. Brodie's discussions of strategy is probably inherent in his approach; his interest in the relations of strategy and technology has perhaps led him to underestimate such factors as the general development of land transportation, the changes in trade routes which followed the opening of the Suez and Panama canals, and England's new dependence on sea-borne food and raw materials. Adequate illustrations for a reasonably priced work of this sort were of course impossible. Perhaps the best collection would still be those in William Hovgaard's *Modern History of Warships*. Throughout his work Dr. Brodie's thorough scholarship fully lives up to the high standard set in the Institute for Advanced Study's other notable books on modern war.

Duke University.

THEODORE ROPP.

Society and Medical Progress. By BERNHARD J. STERN. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. xvii, 264. \$3.00.)

THE degree of the development of medicine in any society is one of the chief measures of the height it has reached in civilization. Medicine has come up out of a dark past full of magic, religion, and superstition. It has come from the supernatural to the most matter-of-fact of practical sciences. Bernhard J. Stern's book on *Society and Medical Progress* gives us a running review of the advances made by medicine as it has gained its present place in society. The author indicates the many different foundations on which medicine has come to rest. Only with the waning influence of astrology and with the rise of mathematics and the growth of chemistry could established and dependable procedures be used in the care of the sick.

The popular historical approach to such subjects as the development of the hospital, the relationship of income and health, conquest of famine, medical progress and social change, are both interesting and illuminating. There is a certain homely quality which this book has that is often lacking in similar studies. The discussion of the contribution of soap to public health and of the introduction of the bathtub in the home shows how they have not only added greatly to human comfort but have increased our control of the spread of diseases.

The discussion of the relationship of income to health is somewhat oversimplified, and the variations that have been evident in all parts of the world between city dwellers and those close to the sources of natural foods, living on farms and nearer nature, are not sufficiently emphasized. The standard of dollars earned often gives an inadequate picture of how healthy a simple life can be. Longevity depends on many other things than pocketbooks.

Looking toward social change, the author (as he states) wants to take his readers beyond a limited horizon. His treatment of medicine on a functional basis is wise. From this point of view it is possible to cut across the arbitrary barriers that have marked this field and to show that progress cannot be made in isolation and that the interlocking of medicine with every other feature of our social organization is inevitable. That there will be a reorganization of medical service and medical payment no one can doubt. Just what form it will take no one can answer as yet, it seems to me, but we are in the midst of an evolutionary progression which is developing the answers.

Among the considerable number of books on the social aspects of medicine that have appeared in recent years, I have found *Society and Medical Progress* one of the most interesting, largely because it is not dogmatic. It raises points of view rather than giving specific answers. Certainly no one can read the book without being satisfied that the evolution in the field of medical practice is proceeding at a more rapid rate than ever before and that medicine is not only keeping up with the developments of research but that, in many cases, it leads the sciences in the prompt application of new discoveries to the treatment and care of the sick. The doctor is becoming more significant every year as a social factor rather than merely as a personal physician.

Stanford University.

RAY LYMAN WILBUR.

Writing History. By SHERMAN KENT, Yale University. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1941. Pp. xi, 136. \$1.00.)

THIS is not, happily, an addition to the recent and not always edifying books and articles on historical method; nor is it the thousandth definition of the undefinable. It is a compact manual, clear and objective, which helps an undergraduate in seeking the "perfect topic" and tells him how to pursue it through a library, "how to take notes on cards, why you bother to keep

track of the places your information comes from, how you cite books and manuscripts in your footnotes, what you put in your bibliographical note, and how you put it there"; also, especially in the chapter on style and usage and in the appendix on making an index, it aids graduates in their allegedly more advanced writings. All college instructors of course assay this sort of thing, but who so completely, wisely, and brilliantly? Granting that there must always be the line upon line and precept upon precept in the presence of a class, this book should immensely supplement and fortify. No detail of composition, punctuation, or typography is too trifling for notice; nothing is common or unclean; every need of the beginner seems sensed. Yet the sections devoted to technique and apparatus are not barren rules. The reader keeps running across comment which is unhackneyed and helpful. It would entertain the reviewer to raise a question here and there, but it would be on nothing fundamental. The bibliographical note is a model.

In a very short introductory chapter, addressed to one who "covenants to pay his way in life by historical research", the author does indeed have a word on history in general. It is in accord with the sanest thought from Droysen and Bernheim on, and it should help a student in tackling his Langlois and Seignobos and the recent controversies. "*Impartiality*, not neutrality, is the key to the . . . just presentation of history", and "the student who has the courage to find and develop a historical problem" and, observing a critical method, "has the intellectual honesty to write without conscious bias and with conviction . . . will be enjoying a privilege for which America was founded and a right for which men are dying this very year".

University of Minnesota.

A. B. WHITE.

ANCIENT HISTORY

Excavations at Olynthus. Part X, Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds: An Original Contribution to Greek Life (with a New, Up-to-Date Map of Olynthus). By DAVID M. ROBINSON. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, edited by David M. Robinson.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1941. Pp. xxvii, 593. Plates CLXXII. \$20.00.)

THIS fat volume contains hoes and spearheads, ear-spoons and great bronze beads, strigils and meathooks and snaffles, loom weights, spikes, styli, bodkins, dice, and heavy handsome lion's-head door knockers—eighty-four varieties of miscellaneous objects which escaped the sack by Philip in 348 B.C. and sporadic pokings in the ruins since that time. Few costly objects, gold and silver, were left behind by the looters. In a sense the 2,683 objects catalogued in this volume are almost all "ordinary". But Olynthus is the only classical Greek site where extensive residential quarters have been excavated (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV [1938-39], 580-82). The present volume is thus unique: W. Deonna's admirable *Le mobilier délien* (1938)

has much Hellenistic matter, and G. Davidson's eagerly awaited *Miscellaneous Finds from Corinth* will have much Roman. No other book is comparable.

The value of such works for the historian is twofold. They reveal great commercial and cultural movements, how, for instance, Olynthus was very much a part of the backward local Bottiaean culture until *ca.* 500 B.C.; how at that time trade sprang up with Ionia, bringing in the earrings, fibulae, pendants, etc., long familiar there (pp. x, 94, 114, 126, 195). Besides adding to historical knowledge in this way, volumes like Olynthus, Part X, make events already known more real. Thus the big arrowheads with ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ on them, barbed and ugly as sharks' fins (pl. cxx) are more convincing than Demosthenes; they belong in every textbook, along with Philip's lead sling bullets, which are a full third heavier than nearly all others (some 500 sling bullets were found; pp. 418, 433; pl. cxxxii). As these samples may suggest, the book is a storehouse of big and little facts, all of them lively.

The presentation is distinguished for fullness, particularly in the 1,650 footnotes, where reference is piled on reference. The author has also been at pains to seek out, in a surprising number of museums, numerous objects (usually unpublished and unknown) similar to those from his excavations. Future excavators most of all will find the volume indispensable. The objects are presented in an orderly, usable manner, with "typologies" wherever possible. The photographs are more than adequate, except that scales are not given in certain plates where not all the objects were originally photographed together; scissors and paste had to be used. For instance, in plate cxx relative sizes are altered.

Harvard University.

STERLING DOW.

The Greek Political Experience: Studies in Honor of William Kelly Prentice.
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. 252. \$3.00.)

THE editors of this *Festschrift* have happily departed somewhat from the usual form. Such volumes are often merely heterogeneous collections of learned papers, each supposedly adding its bit to the world's knowledge of the subject; but the brief essays here presented to Professor Prentice set forth in popular form the views now commonly accepted by scholars in a rather large field. These fourteen studies are the successive chapters of a continuous narrative covering the major aspects of Greek constitutional history from early times to the Roman conquest. The volume could hardly be recommended as the basic text for a college course in Greek history, but it might well be assigned as supplementary reading in such a course, for several of the essays are the best brief treatments of their subjects now available. The endeavor of the authors has been to give balanced presentation and interpretation rather than information that will be new to specialists in Greek history; but they frequently mention material recently discovered, some-

times by themselves. Thus Meritt's excellent account of "Athens and the Delian League" is based in considerable part upon his own illuminating and quite recent studies of the Athenian tribute lists. The close connection of the volume with recent scholarship is also shown by the fact that almost half its space is devoted to Alexander and the Hellenistic world, which have been so much studied of late. The authors write as good Hellenists and strive to present the Greeks in as favorable a light as possible, which perhaps is as it should be. But this sympathy with Greece usually leads them to seek external causes for her decline, and in nearly every case those who have occasion to mention Rome are severe upon the western republic. Most of them seem to hold the view that Roman brutality was largely responsible for bringing the brilliant achievements of the Greeks to an untimely end. Thus Robinson, at the close of his chapter on "Federal Unions", expresses the very optimistic opinion that, had it not been for Rome, "the Greeks might ultimately have given the Mediterranean world not only a common culture but also a form of government ensuring unity, freedom and permanence"; and Fine remarks quite bluntly that the Romans destroyed "all that had made Greece great"—though he adds a few lines below that the Greeks deserved this fate. This explanation is not shared by all the contributors, however, and in summing up the last chapter—which itself is an "Epilogue" summing up the whole book—Johnson traces the decline of Greece to faults at home and concludes: "From Greek political experience this much is clear: no state can endure if it is based on principles of self-sufficiency, racial arrogance, glorified militarism and ruthless exploitation whether of serf or of slave or of subject people." Perhaps the author was thinking of events in our own days as he wrote these words—other contributors sometimes mention Nazis, fascists, and communists deprecatingly by name—but his generalization seems to hold for Greece too. However, the fact that differences of opinion are possible regarding the causes for the decline of Greece and a few other matters here discussed does not impair the high merit of this volume. It is a worthy offering to a distinguished teacher and scholar.

University of Illinois.

J. W. SWAIN.

Philip V of Macedon. By F. W. WALBANK, Lecturer in Latin in the University of Liverpool. [The Hare Prize Essay, 1939.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xi, 387. \$4.00.)

THE long reign of Philip V marks an epoch in the history of the Hellenistic world and coincides with that great turning point in the development of classical civilization, the rise of the Roman Republic as the dominant power in the Mediterranean. Although we have the brilliant investigations of Maurice Holleaux and his masterly chapters in Volumes VII and VIII of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, there has been, nevertheless, a

real need for a systematic treatment of Philip's reign. Mr. Walbank's monograph goes far toward filling that need.

Technically the monograph is excellent. We have a clearly ordered narrative of the events of Philip's reign; the citations are full, the bibliography exhaustive. Excellent sketch maps of the different areas concerned are interspersed in the text. There is a full chronological table of the events of the period, and an adequate index is provided. Three appendixes discuss the extant sources (no real attempt is made to get beyond Polybius), aspects of the Macedonian military establishment, and various chronological problems. It must be said that Mr. Walbank's essay will be indispensable for all students of this crucial period of classical history.

Given the exasperating condition of the sources for the larger part of Philip's reign, particularly for the important years 205 to 200 B.C., there are, of course, matters in which one may differ from Mr. Walbank. To take a single example, one is hardly to be persuaded that the excision of references to the Antigonid house in the Athenian inscriptions is to be motivated merely by the Athenian discovery of the pact between Philip and Antiochus III. This unparalleled procedure surely can only mean that Philip had done something which the Athenians considered was an act specifically hostile to Athens.

But, in my opinion, the real weakness of this essay lies in its interpretation of Philip's policy and hence, probably, of his character. I do not believe that Mr. Walbank has sufficiently apprehended the tendentious nature of Polybius's picture of Philip, and this is the more remarkable since Mr. Walbank himself in his admirable essay, "Φίλιππος τραγωιδούμενος" (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LVIII [1938], 55-68), has demonstrated to what extremes of misrepresentation his animus against Philip could lead Polybius. Polybius writes so badly that there has arisen a tendency to regard him as impartial. In his treatment of Greek history Polybius is, in fact, an out-and-out partisan of his own Achaeans. His presentation of Philip's reign is designed to motivate, and thus to excuse, the Achaean League's declaration of war on Philip in 198 B.C. That this act provoked the bitterest criticism in the Greek world is shown by Polybius's own attempts at exculpation (Polybius, XVIII, 13, 14, and 15). I am convinced that any attempt to arrive at a more just understanding of Philip's career must be based on the application to Polybius of the most severe critical method. Polybius usually (though by no means always) can be trusted to give an accurate narrative of events. His interpretations of policy, however, are to be viewed with the greatest caution.

But with these reservations Mr. Walbank's book is to be welcomed as an important addition to our knowledge of the fateful impact of Rome upon the Greek East.

University of Wisconsin.

CHARLES EDSON.

The Gates of Dreams: An Archaeological Examination of Vergil, Aeneid VI, 893-899. By ERNEST LESLIE HIGHBARGER, Department of Classical Languages, Northwestern University. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. Pp. xiii, 136. \$3.00.)

AFTER the great pageant of Rome's future history has been displayed to awe and inspire him, Aeneas is sent back to this world. Vergil (as usual following Homer) says that there are two gates of Sleep: a horn one, the egress of true spirits, and an ivory one, by which false dreams are sent upwards. It is by the ivory gate that Anchises sends out his son and the Sibyl—as if they too were false dreams. This strange conclusion to the greatest book of the *Aeneid* must be symbolic; and yet no one has succeeded in discovering what it means.

Mr. Highbarger has made another attempt, without much more success than his predecessors. He has found a number of Gates of the Sun, Gates of Hades, and so forth, in poetry and mythology from ancient Egypt through Homer and Plato down to Vergil and his imitators; and he has contrived to assimilate most of them to Vergil's (or Homer's) twin gates of sleep. The result is stimulating to read but bewildering to think about. Almost everything becomes identifiable with something else. It is like the garden in *Through the Looking-Glass*, where all the paths turned round and led into the front door again. Whatever path we take leads straight into a gate of ivory or horn.

For instance, take the ivory gate. It is the gate of Olympus, the heavenly hill (p. 4), the gate of Phoebus's garden in the far east (p. 56), the gate of the Elysian fields, which used to be in the far west (p. 57), and the forecourt of the underworld, haunted by disease, war, and suffering (pp. 71 f.). Doubtless all these places had gates; but why should they be the same gate? There is no end to such hypotheses. The two substances, ivory and horn, look like primitive symbolism showing the difference between true and false: horn is native, simple, natural, while ivory is foreign, strange, almost artificial. If we are to believe that the horn-gate is the Gate of the Horns of the sacred Mesopotamian or Cretan bull, could the ivory-gate not be traced back to the elephant-worshipping Ethiopians? Many of Mr. Highbarger's hypotheses could be true, but very few of them *must* be.

The chief objection to the book, however, is not that its hypotheses are daring, but that they evade the real difficulties. (1) Neither Vergil nor Homer says these gates are the main entrance to the underworld. On the contrary, they look like the back door, like exits (dreams and strange visitors go out of them; nothing seems to come in). They look not like fundamental opposites, as far apart in intention as heaven and hell, but like alternative exits for one small group of beings. If Vergil means that Aeneas was let out of the door of heaven, why does he carefully say that he went out of the

gate of false dreams? If the two gates were the gates of the entire spiritual world, why does he call them simply the gates of Sleep, the subordinate deity who had so much trouble in killing one sailor in Book V? (2) If the ivory gate leads to heaven, and the horn one to hell, why does falsehood come out of heaven and truth out of hell? It is not enough to say that the gods sometimes send false dreams.

Still, we are bound to be grateful to Mr. Highbarger for trying to solve the question. One of the proofs of Vergil's greatness is that he has stirred awe and wonder in all the generations that followed him. He was a magician in the Middle Ages; he was Dante's guide through hell and purgatory; Frazer named his lifework after one symbol from the sixth book—the Golden Bough; and this little book is a not unworthy tribute to the same magical influence.

Columbia University.

GILBERT HIGHET.

The Roman Imperial Navy, 31 B. C.-A. D. 324. By CHESTER G. STARR, JR., of the Department of History in the University of Illinois. [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, edited by Harry Caplan, James Hutton, H. L. Jones.] (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1941. Pp. xv, 228. \$2.50.)

For many years most of the essential information about the Roman army has been easily available, but before the publication of Dr. Starr's work very little was known about the organization and history of the Roman imperial navy. In view of the fact that Dr. Starr is practically a pioneer in this particular field and that this monograph is the outgrowth of his doctoral dissertation, a work lacking much of the excellence of the present one would still have been deserving of high praise. As matters stand, however, he has produced a study of the Roman imperial navy which is fundamental and not likely to be superseded for many years to come.

The major subjects with which Starr deals are the Italian fleets based at Misenum and Ravenna, their establishment and organization, their equipment and personnel; and the provincial squadrons, both in the Mediterranean and on the northern frontiers. He also provides much information about the duties assigned to the naval arm of the Roman forces.

A question might be raised regarding the prefects of the Misene fleet and that of Ravenna. Although the two fleets were established by Augustus, the title *praefectus classis Misenensis* and the title *praefectus classis Ravennatis* are unknown before the reign of Nero. In the preceding period all known prefects have the simple title *praefectus classis*. This suggests, at least, the possibility that one prefect commanded both fleets.

Two minor points might be mentioned. Marcius Agrippa (pp. 31, 192), Misene prefect of 217 A.D., is a shadowy character. He must be the Marcius Claudius Agrippa (of Dio 69 and the epigraphical sources) who served as provincial governor in Dacia and Moesia, but the only evidence of his naval

command in the reign of Caracalla comes from the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, vita Caracallae*, 6, 7. If it is true, and it seems quite likely, that the author of the *vita* was borrowing his information from Dio regarding Marcus Agrippa, the naval career of Agrippa is a figment of his imagination, probably suggested by the career of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. Thus, the "only senatorial naval prefect" of the imperial period vanishes into thin air.

Finally, the bronze medallion (p. 208, n. 111) of Carinus with the legend "Traiectus Aug." may well have existed. It was described by Eckhel (VII, 514). Moreover, its omission from Mattingly-Sydenham is not significant since this series does not always list medallions.

University of Minnesota.

TOM B. JONES.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Steps of Humility. By BERNARD, ABBOT OF CLAIRVAUX. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, as a Study of his Epistemology by GEORGE BOSWORTH BURCH. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xi, 287. \$3.00.)

THIS volume is much more than a translation. It comprises an edition of the Latin text, on alternate pages with the translation, an introduction approximately as long as text and translation combined, together with notes and two brief appendixes. The translation has been unusually well done. The author states in his preface that he aimed at accuracy in rendering the thought of the original and fidelity to its style and spirit, rather than a literal word-for-word translation. This seems to the reviewer correct procedure. Random comparison of text with translation reveals few passages with which any but a carping critic could find fault, while at the same time the reader is presented with a version which he can read with pleasure.

A considerable part of the pleasure in the reading undoubtedly comes from the character of the work itself. In it Saint Bernard shows the steps whereby one may rise to a knowledge and understanding of truth—or, rather, inversely, the steps of pride by which one may descend to evil. "Let Saint Benedict", he writes, "tell about the steps of humility, which he first set up in his own heart; I have nothing to tell you about except the order of my own descent" (p. 233). These steps are twelve, beginning with curiosity, frivolity, foolish mirth, boastfulness, and ending with freedom to sin and habitual sinning, "by which the fear of God is lost and contempt of God incurred". But "the same steps lead up to the throne and down . . . if you desire to return to truth, you do not have to seek a new way which you know not, but the known way by which you descended. Retracing your own path, you may ascend in humility by the same steps which you descended in pride" (p. 177). The whole treatise of about fifty pages is an attractively phrased exposition of the method by which one (and specifically the monk, for it appears to be the expansion of verbal precept which the

abbot wrote out at the instance of his friend Geoffrey) may achieve oneness with God. But it must be read to be appreciated. "It attempts to describe", in the words of the translator, "not the indescribable mystical experience, but the easily describable steps which lead to the possibility of this experience."

The edition of the text adds little to those previously published, one by Mabillon in 1667 (several times reprinted) and a recent one by Mills, published in 1926. Since there was published in 1929 a competent and easily accessible translation from the pen of Mills, it may be asked why a new edition and translation should have so soon appeared. The answer lies partly in the fact that there is always room for a really good new translation, partly in the difficult situation which arises when two men are unknowingly working simultaneously at the same task. The latter appears here to have been the case.

In this instance publication requires no excuse. If one were demanded, it could still be found in the long introduction, in which the author exposes the epistemology of Saint Bernard, drawn from his known and accepted works and leading into the treatise on the *Steps of Humility*. In this the attempt is made to let Saint Bernard speak for himself, with a minimum of comment or reference to critical literature. The material is presented on the whole clearly enough, but in a form calculated to frighten the sort of reader for whom a translation is presumably designed. The result does not seem so happy as in the translation. In other words, there seems not to be careful correspondence between introduction and text. The former lacks the charm, simplicity, and directness of the latter.

Of the two brief appendixes, one is on certain metaphysical presuppositions of Cistercian mysticism, not clearly stated in the works of Saint Bernard, and the other is on the philosophical differences between Saint Bernard and Abélard. There are an adequate bibliography and a satisfactory index.

Columbia University.

AUSTIN P. EVANS.

The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages. By BERYL SMALLEY, Research Fellow, Girton College, Cambridge. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. xvi, 295. \$4.50.)

Sachsenspiegel and Bible: Researches in the Source History of the Sachsenspiegel and the Influence of the Bible on Mediaeval German Law. By GUIDO KISCH, Visiting Professor of History, Jewish Institute of Religion, Formerly Professor of Legal History at the Universities of Leipzig, Königsberg, Prague, and Halle. [Publications in Mediaeval Studies, the University of Notre Dame, Editor, Philip S. Moore.] (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame. 1941. Pp. ix, 198. Cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.25.)

In these days of hasty scholarship and much parading of wisdom still unripe, it is refreshing to encounter a good book—a truly good book. To

come upon two such books simultaneously, as one does here, is as happy an experience as it is rare. These are volumes making no pretensions beyond modest claims to add their mites and help others further to explore the fields of their respective interests. But each reflects in no uncertain way the distinction and learning of its author and gives the reader that assurance and delight which sound and expert work always evokes.

Miss Smalley has divided her study into six chapters, each in itself a definite contribution to what is obviously an important phase of medieval culture, but also lamentably one neglected in the recent advance of medieval studies. She explains that the work is limited to the study of circles where Bible study was a vocation or a profession and hence contributed to Latin scholarship. But what treasures she has found! Her comments on the work of the Fathers, though not so original or new as other parts of the book, should not remain unread, but no scholar attracted to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries should dare ignore what she has to say of the great Victorines and their successors. The long chapter given over exclusively to Andrew of St. Victor, who died in 1175, is a monograph in itself and the only worthy study we have of this little-known man. Students of the medieval schools, both Christian and Hebrew, of the medieval master and student, and of their practices and foibles will here come upon many a delightful anecdote and picture of lively scenes that will make more vivid and real what we moderns must so often see in half light. The analysis and history of the biblical glosses will be of particular use also to students of law, who will welcome the cogent summary describing the legal glosses which the late Hermann Kantorowicz wrote and generously allowed Miss Smalley to include in her book. The unique, fresh, stimulating qualities of her work are more easily understood when it is realized that most of what the author gives here comes directly from the examination of hundreds of manuscripts, manuscripts most difficult to read and presenting in almost every case problems only an expert can recognize, let alone solve. With Miss Smalley's statement that "this book is not a history of biblical scholarship in the middle ages" no one will violently disagree; but when she continues with the assertion "which I am not competent to write", she does so faced with the ardent protests of her readers. Though she considers her task only "to clear the ground, in order that such a history may be written some day", her work here is proof that she better than most others can do this job, just as it is a challenge for her to continue what she has so expertly begun.

Eike von Repgow, the distinguished German jurist of the thirteenth century, has not been too well known outside his native land. Even specialists in legal studies have ignored him in their admiration of his contemporaries, Beaumanoir, Bracton, and the Decretalists, and have likewise failed to give his Saxon lawbook the care and attention it deserves. Certainly this *Sachsenspiegel* ranks with the great lawbooks of the ages and must receive greater consideration from American and English scholars than it has been

accorded in the past. Professor Kisch now makes this possible and, writing in English, gives an introduction to such study in a book not only remarkable for the systematic methods of investigation he has followed but distinguished for the firm grasp with which he has taken hold of the many problems involved in such research, the skill with which these have been attacked, and the convincing ways in which many have been definitely solved. From cover to cover the little volume testifies to the years of study and thought that have gone into its making, and each page reflects that familiarity with the sources and critical literature that alone inspires complete confidence and respect. No longer is Eike's declaration that he wrote his book "*âne helphe unde âne lêre*" to be misinterpreted to imply that he wrote as he did with little or no learning. Nor can the fictions of politically minded authors that the law of the *Sachsenspiegel* was "born of the blood of the Eastphalians" stand in the face of Professor Kisch's less biased, more scholarly contentions. Eike was brilliant, literate, learned, a great jurist and a sensitive man; and we now know how deeply he was affected by the Bible, the land-peace laws, certain imperial laws, the *Historia scolastica* of Peter Manducator, and by precepts of the canon law as well. Although this volume is not exactly a supplement to what Miss Smalley has given, it is indeed a complement to much that her book contains, and the queries of one study may often be answered or clarified by the materials of the other. Certainly these two books will stand not far apart on the shelves of many scholars.

Princeton University.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

Francis of Assisi, Apostle of Poverty. By RAY C. PETRY, Department of Church History, Duke University. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 199. \$3.00.)

It is pleasant to welcome a contribution to serious Franciscan studies from Duke University. The volume of books inspired by the Little Poor Man who discouraged scholarship among his followers is amazing; America has not yet contributed her quota. Professor Petry's book is well documented, with excellent bibliography and full notes. The opening sketch of Francis's predecessors is not very satisfactory, but the brief summary of the later history of the order is as good as it is succinct. The body of the work is concerned with the saint himself, and the presentation of his relation to poverty is so thorough that the reader will find a good deal of needless repetition. There is also some overanxious stress on the obvious; that Francis was no social reformer is too evident to be said, and Professor Petry's shocked surprise at his occasional practices has a touch of naïveté. To find him kissing lepers is distasteful to us, but how expect a modern attitude from a thirteenth century man? What is distinctive in Francis is not his occasional conformity with medieval asceticism but his wide divergence from it. This divergence Professor Petry illustrates well, emphasizing, as he should, the

degree to which the saint's sensitive joy in natural good and beauty witnesses to the law: He that loseth his life shall find it. Nothing ever proved more clearly than the noted "*libertà Franciscana*" the curious fact that the meek inherit the earth. This book might have brought out more fully the release of creative forces into medieval society by the apostles of renunciation. But that came after Francis's time.

The spiritual source of the saint's devotion to poverty and its extension beyond and below the range of material possessions are also platitudes, but they cannot be stressed too often. Especially good is the demonstration here of Francis's union of loyalty to the church with an absolutism in sharp contrast to her practice. The time is past when the saint could be viewed as a precursor of Protestantism. The intimate relation of his ideal to Catholic liturgy and above all to the Eucharist is rightly traced; and Heiler is quoted to the point: "None knew so well as the saint of Assisi himself that the Franciscan ideal without the protection and care of the Church had no continuance." Francis avoided heresy, on the one side, and compromise, on the other. Petry has, I think, a little tendency to minimize the saint's resultant sufferings, as shown not only by dubious legends but by the evident tension in that will which so embarrassed the Brothers and Pope Gregory, and as shown above all at La Verna. In truth, what makes Francis and many another genius interesting is triumphantly combined contradictions. Such contradictions mean suffering; they may invite the stigmata; but they are a frequent hallmark of sanctity, and they recur down the ages.

It is justly said: "The transformation of the ideal within the Franciscan Order was not the product of a betrayal by his followers; it was the natural product of applying to complex group life an ideal . . . impossible of success in any society organized on a proprietary basis." Yet "Francis made it perpetually embarrassing for a few men to enjoy rights and to wield powers made possible by the deprivation of the many." Professor Petry's discussion of inferences from these two statements in his last chapter is guarded and balanced. Our world vibrates with revolutionary forces, insistent that a "proprietary basis" must be changed; this book hints with wise reserve at the relevance of the Franciscan ideal to that question—never allowing us to forget that no outward change can endure unless motivated from within, and suggesting that the Franciscan failure to succeed through a purely individual appeal, as well as that undying attraction of the Franciscan ideal so strangely potent today, may have their lesson for us.

Wellesley, Massachusetts.

VIDA D. SCUDDER.

Striden mellan Birger Magnusson och hans bröder: Studier i nordisk politisk historia, 1302-1319. Av JERKER ROSÉN. (Lund: A.-B. Gleerupska Univ.-Bokhandeln. 1939. Pp. xvii, 397.)

THE reviewer is of the opinion that Rosén's book is a major contribution to the history of fourteenth century Sweden. It covers less than twenty years

and is not only a sober account, accurate in details, but also a model of critical evaluation of sources. Although clearly a book for the specialist, the author has succeeded remarkably well in writing a smooth-flowing, well-organized story based in a large measure upon sources full of tangled and confusing details. His contributions are manifold.

In his introductory chapter, aimed to serve as a background to the main story, the author sets forth the conflicting dynastic affairs of the second half of the thirteenth century, and in it he advances a sound and in many respects a new interpretation of several issues hitherto not clarified by scholars.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Scandinavian kingdoms respected each others' independence and looked toward non-Scandinavian regions for their expansion. The dawn of the fourteenth century brought a definite change in their political relations. Jerker Rosén conclusively proves that in the first two decades of that century the internal affairs of Sweden assumed more importance than hitherto and that the old national unity and boundaries not only were threatened by opposition to feudal inheritance and dynastic combinations but actually effected a change in the relations of the Nordic nations. In these shifting events the hero of *Erik's krönika*, Erik Menved, son of Magnus Ladulås, an unscrupulous master of intrigue, is the most prominent personality.

The substance of the text may be analyzed under two general headings, domestic affairs and foreign relations. In the former the author shows how the important leaders of the time through their family relations and land-holdings caused formation of parties and lent support to various contestants for power. He also emphasizes the prominent part played by the church, which now reasserts itself and participates in internal wrangling. This part of the story is a noteworthy contribution. In his discussion of Sweden's foreign relations the author points out that the internal intrigues within neighbor nations affected their kings in their attitude toward the rivalry of the Swedish royal brothers. The Hansa towns and the relations of Erik to the enemies of the Danish king in Germany and in Denmark are essential for a full understanding of these events. Rosén's choice and treatment of other topics is commendable.

The annotations, the bibliography of source and secondary material, and the index are fully adequate; the appendixes are invaluable.

University of California at Los Angeles.

DAVID K. BJORK.

Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan (1351-1402): A Study in the Political Career of an Italian Despot. By D. M. BUENO DE MESQUITA, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company, 1941. Pp. x. 408. \$4.50.)

THIS book is more than a political biography of the most famous member of the Visconti dynasty. In unfolding Giangaleazzo's career the author takes us across the threshold of modern political history; he studies the political

unification of Lombardy, the internal life, administration, and foreign policy of the Milanese state under what Burckhardt designated the most complete and instructive type of the tyranny of the fourteenth century. It is strange that no preceding book has exhibited the life and times of Giangaleazzo, given the legendary glare from his exploits and the solid significance of his regime to Italy and to Europe at large. This study does not entirely fill the gap in the literature, but it goes generously far on the road.

The author's contribution to the explanation of states' relations along the lines of balance of power politics (as at pp. 303-304) is significant and creditable. It must be said, however, that more thoroughgoing reflection upon his own data would have assisted readers to understand even more clearly this perennially important subject. The clues to a true interpretation of the facts often lie between the lines of his pages. For example, if we knit together the various facts recorded on pages 196, 197, 215, 219, 223, and 232 we are led to an important conclusion: that Venice was the key to balance of power politics in Giangaleazzo's era. The author hints as much, but he does not organize his material effectively toward this conclusion, nor does he state it emphatically.

The book is the fruit of an assiduous study of multiple original sources and the reading of an extensive monographic literature; it is provided with maps of unusual excellence, thirty-four pages of documents, and a very good working bibliography. The author omits the old *Storia delle signorie italiane* of Cipolla (1881), a work of great authority and value in matters political; and he might have enlivened and enriched his chapter on "Castle and Court" with help from the works of L. Beltrami and F. Malaguzzi Valeri. In the use of his sources he is commendably careful about details; when large questions are at issue he is at times so cautious as to impoverish his account. When writing on the political climax of 1402 he eschews the "romantic" view of things and puts strongly the relation of economic factors to Giangaleazzo's political failure (p. 293). This is valid. By the same token the author has the obligation to reveal the ruler's economic policies as an important part of his administrative reforms, but here (chap. v, "The Visconti State") he does not even summarize the information ready to hand in G. Barbieri's *Economia e politica nel ducato di Milano, 1386-1535* (Milan, 1938).

Some of the fundamental historical problems of the epoch are handled with discrimination and appropriate reserve: subjects such as patriotism, nationalism, peninsular unity. Yet there is a deficiency in the author's penetration. Aversion to the "romantic" may account for the lack of dramatic force in his story of the capture of Bernabò Visconti by that *coup de main* which Burckhardt called "one of those brilliant plots which make the heart of even late historians beat more quickly". But why omit the significant post-mortem trial staged by Giangaleazzo? Yet more important, if the

European reverberations of the death of Bernabò constitute, in the view of such a competent historian as M. de Boüard (*Les origines des guerres d'Italie* [Paris, 1936], p. 24) "the capital fact in the political history of western Europe at the end of the fourteenth century", why does not Giangaleazzo's political biographer present the resultant situation in high relief? An over-all view of European politics, even if not in full agreement with the one given in M. de Boüard's introductory pages, is highly pertinent and necessary to a full understanding of the despot's career. For his ultimate judgment on the regime of Giangaleazzo the author gives us the words of a contemporary chronicler: "From the death of this Prince came the sources of the desolation and destruction of the whole of Lombardy. . . . But he, while he lived, held all things subject to him in tranquillity and peace" (p. 301). This is less than half of the truth. Why leave unsaid the verity that Giangaleazzo's despotism gave rise to horrible discords? Machiavelli knew his tyrants better, for he concluded: "It follows, therefore, that the safety of a commonwealth or kingdom lies, not in its having a ruler who governs it prudently while he lives, but in having one who so orders things, that when he dies, the State may still maintain itself" (*Discourses*, Bk. I, chap. xi).

Duke University.

ERNEST W. NELSON.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Praise of Folly. By DESIDERIUS ERASMUS. Translated from the Latin, with an Essay & Commentary, by HOYT HOPEWELL HUDSON. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. xl, 165. \$2.50.)

LIKE many of the classics of the Renaissance, Erasmus's *The Praise of Folly* is frequently mentioned but rarely read. The custom of reading Latin has practically vanished from the scholarly world and with it an easy familiarity with the Latin literature of the Renaissance. This situation has not been helped much by the English translations in current use. Two of the most common translations of *The Praise of Folly* date from the seventeenth century, and their rather antique language interferes with popular reading. In providing a new rendering into current English, Professor Hudson has given us a useful text accompanied by a commentary which includes an analysis and notes. The introductory essay, although intended to help the reader grasp Erasmus's point of view, is not as helpful as we might wish. So far as the main thought of *The Praise of Folly* is concerned, we should remember that Erasmus was a theologian whose views were colored by the philological and philosophic prepossessions of the Humanists. His theological views, to which he clung during all his mature years, have been made the subject of exhaustive study by Professor J. Lindeboom in his *Erasmus: Onderzoek naar zijne Theologie en zijn Godsdienstige Gemoeds-*

bestaan (Leiden, 1909)—a book but little studied, to the detriment of Erasmus scholarship. In *The Praise of Folly* Erasmus departs from his more serious ethical theological standpoint and for a moment lapses into a sportive vein, viewing all things from the standpoint of Folly—a common figure strutting across the stage of Renaissance life—who regards wisdom as folly and folly as the essence of life itself. From a professor's cathedra she criticizes the labors of philosophers, the researches of scholars, the activities of normal life as well as its beliefs, emotions, enthusiasms, sins, and hypocrisies. Having lifted the blanket of sham which covers all things, Folly discloses to us the one really genuine thing left: Nature and natural life.

Here Erasmus reveals himself as a child of his age. The traditional scholastic philosophy for a variety of reasons had ceased to inspire the fifteenth century, and the Humanists, failing to comprehend its teachings, covered it with abuse or ignored it completely. The contentions of the *via antiqua* of the Thomists and the *via moderna* of the Scotists and Occamists no longer seemed to touch the real foundations of life. As in the case of Luther, Erasmus became a kind of skeptic, seeing in practical life little but the contradictions of appearance and reality—and humanity ever preferring the former. Exalting natural existence above intellectual cultivation, Erasmus appears to advocate a standpoint somewhat like that of Rousseau. And so, emphasizing the basic goodness of nature and of natural life, he seems to approach the teaching of modern existence-philosophers, pragmatists, and instrumentalists. But Erasmus tries to save himself from the consequences of such positions, for toward the end of the book he returns to his more normal views—those, for example, expressed in the *Enchiridion* concerning his “philosophy of Christ”.

These comments evoked by the author's introduction are by no means intended as strictures; they proceed from a belief that a figure like Erasmus must be viewed in the light of a standard sufficiently broad to measure the activities of all men. Nor is there any criticism of the make-up of the book. But the reviewer feels that the omission of all but a few of Holbein's drawings, which so often have graced the pages of *The Praise of Folly*, is regrettable.

University of Washington.

HENRY S. LUCAS.

James VI of Scotland and the Throne of England. By HELEN GEORGIA STAFFORD. [American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1940. Pp. ix, 336. \$3.75.)

THE Whig tradition of the ineptitude of James I of England dies hard. Something has already been done with the career of James I in England to show that he was at least not as foolish or as folly-ridden as the older historians would have us suppose. Here in this work Dr. Stafford makes an

almost reluctant, and therefore more compelling, contribution to the rehabilitation of James based on his career while he was still only king of Scotland. As Dr. Stafford unravels the story of his relations with his own nobles, with France, Spain, and England, and with his kirk, his skill in diplomacy and statecraft is revealed with each passing episode.

The volume begins with the negotiation of the treaty of 1586 between James and Elizabeth and concludes with James's occupation of the English throne after Elizabeth's death. That through the entire period James had one dominating policy in foreign affairs, to secure his own recognition as the next king of England, is already well known. Dr. Stafford's contribution lies in the detailed story of how he drove through to success in spite of his mother, his religious troubles at home and abroad, wars in Europe, and English and Scottish plots and counterplots. James's personality had little to recommend it. He was awkward and ugly in appearance with no compensatory grace of manner or nobility of character. He "lost his temper", and "he had a faculty for deception". (Isn't it about time we stopped expecting kings and their advisers to have been boy scouts?) Yet Dr. Stafford shows how such a king, without adequate funds and with few advisers who could be trusted not to put their private ends before the public good, out-matched the greatest figures of his time in patience, in skill, in ingenuity, and in grasp of the real issues.

This volume is another example of the excellent results that can be achieved through the American plan of adequate assistance to first-class scholars both for research and for publication. The grants from Bryn Mawr and Swarthmore made possible the author's research; the revolving fund of the American Historical Association has borne the costs of publication.

University of Illinois.

F. C. DIETZ.

A Jacobean Journal: Being a Record of those Things Most talked of during the Years 1603-1606. By G. B. HARRISON. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. xii, 406. \$4.50.)

IN this volume Mr. Harrison continues the method he employed in writing his three *Elizabethan Journals* (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI, 120). He has read widely in the sources of the early Stuart period—in letters, diaries, memoirs, state papers, and contemporary drama, prose, and verse—in a search for interesting passages and odd bits of information. He weaves his findings into the form of an imaginary journal, as though some omniscient individual, with access to the counsels of the state and the correspondence of his contemporaries, had kept a diary of events and rumors during the years from 1603 to 1606. The book is not a series of quotations, however, for while Mr. Harrison gives the gist of many documents, he shortens, modifies, and rewrites his sources. Some entries are composites of widely scattered originals. Others contain notices or summaries of events in Mr.

Harrison's own words. All this is done with skill and ingenuity, and the journal is written in a style that simulates quite successfully the prose of the early seventeenth century.

An example of how Mr. Harrison works may be found in an entry concerning King James's *Counterblast to Tobacco*. Mr. Harrison has nothing to go on but the appearance of the tract. But he writes an entry as though his imaginary journalist had noted the publication of the *Counterblast*, read it, and jotted down a summary of its contents. Into this summary Mr. Harrison neatly introduces James's famous peroration in which the fumes of tobacco are compared to the horrible Stygian smoke arising from the pit that is bottomless.

The book contains some good reading for the layman, but its value for the scholar is slight. Mr. Harrison believes that his method discovers the things that caught the public fancy and were most talked about by ordinary people. But this implies a common knowledge of state affairs, a breadth of reading, and a freedom of speech that did not exist. It also implies that events in London formed the chief topics of conversation throughout the country. Hence, in my opinion, Mr. Harrison's thesis is of doubtful validity. The dating is arbitrary and wholly unorthodox. Some events are assigned to dates which apparently represent the time those events were being discussed; while others are placed under specific dates in the journal when the true dates are unknown. Mr. Harrison does not appear to have checked his references, for there are a number of inaccuracies. Scholars will find in the book some items of interest, but they will prefer the originals to Mr. Harrison's clever paraphrases.

University of Minnesota.

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON.

Sir William Alexander, First Earl of Stirling: A Biographical Study. By THOMAS H. McGRAIL, University of New Hampshire. (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd. 1940. Pp. xiv, 273. 10s. 6d.)

THE biographer of Sir William Alexander, first earl of Stirling, has several choices as to the point of view from which he shall study his subject, and he has, too, several choices as to where he will place the main emphasis in his book. A student of colonial beginnings would find Alexander's sponsorship and promotion of Nova Scotia a matter of prime interest. An investigator of the personnel and of the great offices of state under James I and Charles I could be counted upon to find in the ascending curve of this rather conventional Scot's career abundant material for thoughtful consideration and some drama as well. A literary historian, seeking for an unworked topic, would perhaps see in the forgotten poetical and dramatic writings of Alexander a good subject for the exercise of his wits and his patience. Professor McGrail approaches the consideration of Alexander's career from the special angle of a student of the Scottish and English litera-

tures. It was his aim to treat Alexander's life as a whole, however, and it may be conceded that he accomplishes this.

On the literary aspects of his subject's career Professor McGrail writes instructively and with sufficient fullness. Chapter II, "Literary Works", and chapter XII, "Literary Life and Reputation", between them provide a feast of fact. The material is presented in orderly fashion and with good judgment. One for whom these writings are *terrae incognitae* can soon find his way through and about these dry countries of the mind. The biographer candidly admits that more than a little of Alexander's literary product is dull or tedious to the modern taste.

The story of the colonizing ventures of Alexander, as related by the author, abounds in concrete details. He visited the site of the ancient Alexander fort in Nova Scotia and gives an account that is clear and helpful. He treats the Scottish background of the enterprises with sufficient fullness. The chief defect of this part of the work, in the reviewer's opinion, resides in the circumstance that Professor McGrail does not bring out in bold relief the contemporary relation between the proposed Nova Scotian colony and the other colonial settlements to the southward. In real life Alexander was no isolated proprietor, nor was Nova Scotia an isolated venture. In this connection it is unfortunate that the author did not make use of Charles M. Andrews's *The Colonial Period of American History*, since this work provides a splendid general setting for the record of the particular colony he is treating. What Professor McGrail has to say of Alexander's later proprietorship could have been extended and brought up to date by drawing upon Miss Isabel Calder's essay, "The Earl of Stirling and the Colonization of Long Island", in *Essays in Colonial History presented to Charles McLean Andrews* (New Haven, 1931).

Professor McGrail has faithfully consulted the sources in search of materials with which to put together an account of the political and administrative aspects of his subject's career. Chapter III deals with Alexander as master of requests, chapter VII shows him as secretary of state, and chapter XI rounds out the record of a life spent in the service of kings. To the writing of these chapters the author brings a good garnering of knowledge based on visits to archives and libraries. The references provided will permit future workers to take up where the author left off.

This is a useful book, well and soberly written, carefully prepared for and as carefully executed. Still one puts it down with a feeling of disappointment. Granted that the author faced a difficult task—for Alexander's was a career without a center—yet could he not have contrived to draw a sharper image of his man, and could he not have depicted him more meaningfully in relation to the political history of the time? Each chapter of this book, individually considered, has its contribution to make. But it is the central deficiency of the work that as a whole it lacks a coherent pattern

and a clear sense of chronology. It fails to transmit a definite impression of its subject. The material has been chopped up, and somehow unity has been lost.

A series of seven appendixes furnishes extracts from the sources. Here is matter to interest the student of such varied topics as early Nova Scotia history, colonial enterprises, a copper coinage scheme for Scotland, and Alexander's negotiations with the see of Rome. Not easily accessible, this material is welcome. The bibliography is classified; in its compilation the author has cast a wide net. Nevertheless, the names of S. R. Gardiner and W. Notestein are not to be seen.

University of California.

FULMER MOOD.

From Beast-Machine to Man-Machine: Animal Soul in French Letters from Descartes to La Mettrie. By LEONORA COHEN ROSENFELD. With a Preface by Paul Hazard, of the Académie française. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xxviii, 353. \$3.50.)

A subject in the field of the history of ideas which has recently attracted the attention of scholars is the animal literature of various countries. Today France has a true animal literature, and, judging by the remark of a French writer on the eve of the war, Frenchmen were then being drawn more and more to the contemplation of animals and animal literature to escape from the trials of human society. In feeling that beasts are good, more natural, even happier than men, they were not experiencing something entirely new: long before, in the beginning of French animal literature, such ideas existed, primitivistic and anti-intellectual. *The Happy Beast in French Literature* (1933), by Professor G. Boas, tells this story from Montaigne to Pierre Bayle, discusses praise of beasts, Cartesian mechanism, the conceptions of brute soul, sensibility, instinct, and reason. The reviewer's *Man and Beast in French Thought of the 18th Century* (1936) carries on the history of all these ideas, introduces humanitarianism, continues the background to the modern age. It shows man seeking to know himself; in this connection, analyzing the beast, comparing beast with man. Brute virtues become weapons to attack man's vices: animal mechanism becomes human mechanism. In the end two conclusions emerge from the debate: (1) animals feel and have intelligence inferior to man's; (2) kindness to animals is the basis for teaching kindness to man.

One division of this subject is treated with careful detail in Mrs. Rosenfeld's book, which reviews again for the period from Descartes to La Mettrie the scholastic debate over brute soul and animal mechanism. It is true, as indeed the author indicates, that the main outline of the history of this problem had already been drawn and the role of La Mettrie made clear. Consequently, one finds repeated in her book much that had been given in the two previous accounts or in special studies. Mrs. Rosenfeld introduces

minor figures not discussed before in connection with Cartesian beast machines: H. Regius, François Bayle, Edmond Pourchot, Dom Lamy, C. Langenhert, Hartsoeker, and De Crousaz. She also gives the first account of the satire on beast and man in Cyrano de Bergerac's *États et empires de la lune*, as it affects this particular subject. This new material does not change the picture already drawn.

Indebtedness to previous scholars is indicated to a large extent by broad general acknowledgments. Additional specific references should have been made in some cases, such as to earlier citation of the passage from De Villars, first proponent of spiritual soul for brutes (p. 96 and n. 77), and previous definition of the role of Maupertuis (p. 151). In the notes perhaps a too restricted impression of the content of the *Happy Beast* is given. Mrs. Rosenfield says: "For sketches of the question prior to the Cartesian period, see . . . Boas: 'The Happy Beast'" (p. 209). Yet the latter discusses Descartes at length (pp. 82-91), as also many of the later writers. Footnote references to the *Happy Beast* are given in connection with the discussion of several of these later authors (pp. 225, 239, 302). Each time, however, Mrs. Rosenfield says they are discussed in connection with "theriophily"; and she fails to indicate that the question of mechanism and animal soul is also treated there. The statement (p. 302) that the "minor rôles played by Mlle Descartes and Mlle Scudéry in the controversy, have, to our knowledge, not before been noted by its modern historians" is an error. See *Happy Beast*, pages 141-42, and *Man and Beast*, page 207, note.

Inexact use of words and a diffuse, incoherent style make it difficult for the reader to follow the discussion of this intricate subject.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

HESTER HASTINGS.

Jean-Baptiste Rousseau: His Life and Works. By HENRY A. GRUBBS. [Princeton Publications in Romance Languages.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 310. \$3.00.)

JEAN Baptiste Rousseau, once considered the greatest poet of his time, his reputation now completely eclipsed by a later and greater Rousseau, lived his life against a background of early eighteenth century political intrigue. For this reason his life is of interest to historians as well as to students of French literature. In this study of his life and works Mr. Grubbs has wisely refrained from trying to convince us that Jean-Baptiste is, after all, a major writer but has demonstrated with some success that he does deserve at least one scholarly and competent book devoted to his career. Scholarly and competent Mr. Grubbs has shown himself to be. We could hardly expect a brilliant showing with such an ungrateful subject.

As a disagreeable character Jean-Baptiste runs in close competition with his enemies, and all their quarrels seem after two hundred years to have been incredibly petty. The fact that this Rousseau as well as his namesake

drew on himself the dislike of Voltaire has been for many his chief title to fame. But the venom and unforgiving hatred which Voltaire felt for Jean-Baptiste make his hostility to Jean-Jacques seem the mildest dislike. According to Mr. Grubbs, Rousseau, secure in his great reputation, had been guilty of a patronizing attitude to the young Voltaire, and this was his unforgivable crime.

In judging the value of Rousseau's work Mr. Grubbs makes some interesting if controversial remarks on the nature of good and bad poetry. One is almost convinced that back of the stylistic peculiarities of a formalistic age there may be values which are as worth the seeking as those hidden in the obscurities of some of our greatly admired moderns. Almost convinced, but not quite sufficiently so to make the effort to study all the conventionalized images of a Rousseau to see if they are as charming as the examples which Mr. Grubbs has chosen.

For historians, however, the interest of the book lies neither in the evaluation of his poetry nor in the assigning of guilt in the affair of the couplets, which seems to be a matter of deciding who was nastier than whom, but in the European background. Driven from Paris by his enemies, Rousseau found friends abroad, and as the protégé of the Comte de Lux and later of Prince Eugene he was able to observe and take part in a world of intrigue of which the couplet writers of Paris were mere shadows. We are amused at Rousseau's annoyance at finding that a political appointment in Belgium necessitated his living there. The pictures of Vienna trying to rival Paris as a center of culture and of the character of Prince Eugene himself, a sort of thwarted Louis XIV, are quite well drawn. Rousseau as a famous exile had a far more varied and interesting life than he would have had if misfortune had not been his lot.

To some extent the unity of Mr. Grubbs's book suffers from the triple aim of being biography, history, and literary criticism, but in spite of this defense of his reputation Jean-Baptiste is still not Jean-Jacques, and works about him are not likely to fill many shelves in our libraries. This fact exonerates Mr. Grubbs for trying to include every aspect of his subject in this work, but the fundamental unity is maintained by keeping always before us the character of the hero, irascible, vindictive, unforgiving, yet pitiful.

Swarthmore College.

EDITH PHILIPS.

Torch & Crucible: The Life and Death of Antoine Lavoisier. By SIDNEY J.

FRENCH. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. ix, 285. \$3.50.)

FEW scientists have been more widely acclaimed than Lavoisier. Grimaux's biography has inspired many secondary eulogistical works, as well as the critical analyses—in better intellectual perspective—by Meldrum and McKie. Periodical literature on Lavoisier—particularly in *Isis*, *Archæion*, and *Annals of Science*—is extensive. A new study does not, therefore, meet

an urgent scholarly need; and yet *Torch & Crucible* is not a work of supererogation. Here the author seeks to do for Lavoisier what Peattie has done for Audubon—to present not merely an intimate personal history or a digest of his science but a synthesis of these limned vividly against a background of stirring contemporary events. The result, not unexpectedly, is a better portrayal of the “Father of modern chemistry” than of his cultural contribution. Reference is indeed constantly made to Lavoisier’s “beloved science”, and Professor French dramatizes the so-called chemical revolution, yet the account of scientific ideas never achieves the vividness of that of social and professional activities. Because the author’s treatment is anecdotal rather than expository, the reader is scarcely aware that Lavoisier—more than any other individual—did for chemistry what Pythagoras and Aristotle had done for mathematics and biology, respectively: that is, he gave it an intellectual status and a philosophic form.

In shunning traces of pedantry and erudition Professor French has evinced an unnecessary disregard of bibliographical and historical accuracy. Dates and figures are not consistently given, and quotations are practically unverifiable. Errors in detail, while not numerous, do exist: Harvey’s discovery of the circulation of the blood is ascribed to the use of the microscope (pp. 9-10); Bacon’s putative formula for gunpowder (p. 112) and Priestley’s reported renunciation of his Royal Society Fellowship (p. 215) are accepted without question. Such venialities are inconsequential in view of the bold outlines of the book; but the author’s vigorous enthusiasm leads occasionally to inconsistencies, false impressions, and biased evaluations. One reads that “An invitation to dinner in the Lavoisier apartment . . . gave entrée to the best circles of science and liberalism” (p. 114); but later one finds that Lavoisier “lived alone in science, between right and left in political thought” (p. 127). Newton is regarded as having had “no previous theory to overcome” (p. 180), whereas an “utterly hostile” and “sullen world of science” accepted Lavoisier’s work “with pitiful slowness” (p. 105); but in reality Cartesian vortices succumbed to universal gravitation more tardily than did phlogiston to the oxygen theory of combustion. Holding Priestley and Scheele quite incapable of a correct understanding of their own discoveries, Professor French proclaims that “Before Lavoisier, stalked mysticism, confusion, and contradiction; after Lavoisier, came system, order, and progress” (p. 185). This quixotic ballyhoo is belied by Lavoisier’s view of oxygen as an acidifying principle which combines chemically with caloric to form a physical substance.

In citing injudicious statements the reviewer would caution the reader rather than condemn a book the intention of which is journalistic, not documentary. The author has a keen eye for human values, and one who relishes history spiced with personal touches—some of doubtful authenticity—will find the present work a sheer delight.

Brooklyn College.

CARL B. BOYER.

The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence. Edited by W. S. LEWIS. Volumes IX and X, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with George Montagu*. Edited by W. S. LEWIS and RALPH S. BROWN, JR. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. lvi, 418; 560. \$15.00.)

As Mr. Lewis has suggested, Walpole evidently selected his correspondents deliberately for their peculiar qualifications. Each gave him an opportunity to express a particular side of his nature or to discuss a special interest. A sober discussion of antiquarian subjects, for example, characterizes the letters to the Reverend William Cole (Volumes I and II); the latest social gossip fills the correspondence with George Montagu (Volumes IX and X). In writing the letters to Montagu, Walpole's purpose was to amuse. "Unless I can divert *you*", he wrote, "I had rather wait till we can laugh together" (X, 113). Of the 449 letters in this collection, 262 are from Walpole's own pen. Except for five earlier letters the series begins with the year 1745 and comes to an abrupt end in 1770, when the correspondents seem to have reached the tragic conclusion that they could no longer divert each other by their letters or laugh together when they met.

Although Walpole's role in this correspondence is primarily that of raconteur, to Montagu, as to all his correspondents, Walpole was politician, collector, author, critic, sight-seer, and creator of Strawberry Hill. The letters are reminiscent of English country houses and gardens, a window in an Oxford College building, or a bridge over a stream at Blenheim. Running through the correspondence are glimpses of English life and character as interpreted by one who delighted to view his own times with an air of assumed detachment. For instance, in 1745 when England was threatened with invasion he wrote: "'Tis our characteristic to take dangers for sights and evils for curiosities." "You see I laugh about it, for I would not for the world be so un-English as to do otherwise" (IX, 23).

Unlike Walpole's side of the correspondence, Montagu's letters, with a few exceptions, are here printed for the first time. They supply a clue to much in Walpole's letters that might otherwise be obscure and merit considerable interest on their own account. Having been friends at Eton, Walpole and Montagu enjoyed from earliest days a common stock of experiences and acquaintances. These grew more numerous with the passing years. Their literary tastes were similar, as frequent allusions to Shakespeare and their comments on the books they had read testify. Furthermore, their letters reveal a genuine affection for each other. Walpole appreciated in his friend a youthful gaiety which delighted in ribald stories. On the whole, however, Montagu's chief function was to encourage Walpole with such remarks as the following: "Your last letter is always the best and most charming; if you would promise me to write every week I would never come to town as long as I lived" (IX, 275). The letters of both Montagu and Walpole add something to the historian's information but contribute in a more im-

portant way to that indefinable historical sense which we are accustomed to call a feeling for a period.

So much praise has already been heaped upon the editors for their work in producing this series that the present reviewer need only state that the latest volumes maintain the very high standard previously established.

Wilson College.

DORA MAE CLARK.

Letters from George III to Lord Bute, 1756-1766. Edited with an Introduction by ROMNEY SEDGWICK, Formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. [Studies in Modern History, General Editor, L. B. Namier, Professor of Modern History, University of Manchester.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. lxviii, 277. \$4.00.)

America's Last King: An Interpretation of the Madness of George III. By MANFRED S. GUTTMACHER. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1941. Pp. xv, 426. \$3.50.)

Mr. Sedgwick's introduction to these letters from George III to Bute comprises a historiographical essay of great interest and importance on the origins of the Whig legend concerning George III. Macaulay's second Essay on Lord Chatham is shown to have been based on two main sources, first, that ultra-successful party tract, Burke's *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents*, and second, Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*. Concerning the fallacies of Burke, Mr. Sedgwick's argument is that under the prereform political setup in England, the heir apparent as representing the "reversionary interest" usually became leader of the opposition, and since it could not in fact deny the king's constitutional right to choose his ministers, this opposition was obliged to invent the fiction that the king was dominated by a "ministerial cabal" from which it sought to preserve him. The unusual factor in the years 1761-80 was the absence of an adult heir apparent to form the rallying point for such an opposition, and Burke's account of how George III attempted to defy the system of "responsible government" by a "court cabal" is an inversion of the earlier "ministerial cabal" idea. As far as Macaulay's use of Walpole's Journals is concerned, Mr. Sedgwick exposes the false origin of the legend of the dominating influence on George III derived from Bolingbroke's "Patriot King".

On these early years of the reign the correspondence of George III, edited by Sir John Fortescue, is very small in amount. The editor had believed these letters of the king to Bute destroyed. Professor Namier, however, discovered them in possession of the Bute family and used them. The earliest ones are from the spring of 1756, when the then Prince of Wales was barely eighteen, and only nine of the 338 letters in the volume were written after the fall of the Bute ministry in the spring of 1763. It is mainly on the personal relationship of Bute and the king and on their policy, both in matters of politics and of state, that the letters are of importance. They shed

little light, for example, on so important a question as the peace negotiations. That the strong personal attachment which determined Bute's relation to the royal family in these years was between himself and George III, not between himself and George III's mother, becomes clear. In view of George's youth and total inexperience of affairs, it seems inevitable that someone would have occupied some such position of influence with him. After the first year of the reign, during which the young king's concern with the problems of his choice of a bride occupied much of his attention, his growing familiarity with the problems of government began the loosening of the bond. After Bute's retirement from office in 1763 communication between them continued constantly for three years, although most of the letters were destroyed as a precautionary measure. Of the nine surviving ones, the last three, written in 1766 and giving George III's comments on the Rockingham administration and its fall, are important. By the summer of 1766 the period of dependence on Bute ended, the final break coming as a result of the king's concern with the formation of a stable government as opposed to insisting on one which should include Bute's friends.

It is too little understood that this ever-present problem of forming a stable government gives one of the clues to the king's conduct throughout his reign. Practically speaking, the house of commons in these years operated on a multi-party system bearing resemblances to that which has obtained in recent years in some Continental legislatures, and so similar problems have arisen. To the king "management of the House of Commons" meant, not as Whig pamphleteers and later Whig historians have assured us, political manipulation in the interests of personal government, but it appeared as the only means of assuring a system by which the business of the house of commons and the administrative departments could be carried on.

As a student of the reign of George III the present reviewer has often wished for a monograph on his insanity by a specialist in mental disease. Dr. Guttmacher's volume has supplied this and in so doing puts our understanding of his whole career on a more solid basis. The printed reports to parliament of the king's physicians are supplemented by fuller manuscript accounts preserved at Windsor, and of all this material, as well as the ordinary sources for the study of the reign, Dr. Guttmacher has made use. The periods of mental derangement which the king suffered, culminating in the final attack in 1810, were manic-depressive insanity. While the volume is in the form of a life of the king, chronologically treated, the author's selection of material has been guided by his main interest, that of the king's malady and the related traits of his personality and the implications of this theme. The attractive traits of conscientiousness and of courage which the king exhibited in such large measure are emphasized as recurrent in sufferers from manic-depressive insanity. The idea sometimes advanced that

George's actions in the intervals between his attacks exhibit traces of insanity receives complete contradiction in this study. The elaborate treatment of the activities and reports of the physicians during the severe attack commencing in the autumn of 1788 makes clearer the course of political manipulation in regard to the Regency question. Of interest is the author's remark that "in the century that has passed since George III's final illness, prognosis in psychiatry has not progressed far beyond the point to which this group of experts had carried it". Of further interest are his mention of Chatham as a manic-depressive and his many comments on the medical history of other persons who appear in the narrative.

Mr. Sedgwick's destructive inroads into the bases of the Whig legend, the clarification afforded by the Bute letters of the real situation in the early years of the reign, and Dr. Guttmacher's sympathetic exposition of the king's character are important steps toward the final eclipse of the remarkably persistent interpretation of the reign advanced by the nineteenth century Whig historians.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

GERDA RICHARDS CROSBY.

The Cambridge History of Poland, from Augustus II to Piłsudski, 1697-1935.

Edited by W. F. REDDAWAY, J. H. PENSON, O. HALECKI, R. DYBOSKI.
(Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1941.
Pp. xvi, 630. \$7.50.)

THE difficulty of acquiring a reading knowledge of the Polish language and the common academic practice of studying the history of no nation east of Germany, plus the tragic fact that Poland disappeared from the world's geographies for much over a century prior to the First World War, have operated against Western readers' knowing the rich culture and exciting history of the Polish people.

At the height of its glory, and it was real glory, Poland was the largest political unit of Europe; in the early seventeenth century it embraced an area of 380,000 square miles—as great as Germany and France together—the home of 15,000,000 people.

It is now, therefore, a definite addition to the world's authentic knowledge, a real widening of geographical and historical horizons, that the Cambridge Press and Macmillan in America have issued one of the two volumes (the second one, it happens) of the *Cambridge History of Poland*, this volume covering the period 1697-1935.

Owing, however, to the unfortunate brevity of the introduction, which should have been a full-length chapter reviewing the history of Poland to 1697, even the most careful reader of this book will not know the real Poland nor suspect the splendor of the reigns of the Jagellon kings and their glorious climax in the "Golden Age of Poland". That total period is 1386-1572.

The sun of Poland's day began to set in 1648. There was a sunset burst of splendor in 1683, when John Sobieski delivered Vienna and indeed all Europe from the Turk, and then the night set in, at its darkest exactly in the period covered by the opening chapters of the book under review. The eighteenth century was a dismal era for Poland until after 1764, when there came thirty years of mixed cultural revival and political tragedy ending in the final partition of 1795.

The book begins just when the decline really set in, with an account of the unfortunate reigns of Augustus II and Augustus III, telling that depressing story not too interestingly. With page 49 we have passed that era and come to a surprisingly clear discussion of the Polish constitution, followed by Dr. W. J. Rose's luminous chapter on the social life of Poland before the partitions. After those first forty-eight pages the going is good.

Those who knew these books were in preparation impatiently awaited their appearance. The editors are known historians, especially Reddaway on the English side, Halecki for the Poles. The chapters, thirty in number, are by twenty-one different writers—twelve Polish, two American, six English, one Canadian. Twenty-two chapters are narratives of the course of Polish history, seven deal with Polish life and culture, one with the role of Pilsudski in twentieth century Poland. The writing ranges all the way from the less stimulating chapters by Professor Konopczynski to the splendid work of Professors Skwarczynski and Dyboski, the lively writing of Dr. Rose of Oxford and the vital, at times inspired, paragraphs of Dr. Coleman of Columbia, a writer of truly illuminating phrases and well-turned sentences.

Rose and Coleman not only know their facts and their Poland; they know how to interpret them and make them live. Rose's chapter on Russian Poland is a good illustration of how a period in the hands of a vivid writer can leap into life and meaning. His succeeding chapter on Prussian Poland reveals to the English and Americans the criminal brutality of allowing Germans to rule over Poles. Handelsman has taken an obscure period, 1815-30, and made it clear and interesting. Estreicher throws new light on the internal racial complications and problems of that troubled district where the Polish Ukrainians live. Few Poles can so brilliantly interpret their country as can Dr. Dyboski, as is illustrated in his chapter on Polish literature, art, and learning.

In Miss Gardner's chapter on the romantic poets of Poland some will for the first time get the feel of the poet Mickiewicz (1798-1855). When we of America try to find a person who stands in our history somewhat as Mickiewicz stands in that of Poland, oddly enough we have to choose Washington, though one was a poet and the other a soldier. In Poland's dark days of the last century Mickiewicz was her greatest poet and at the same time the moral leader of the nation, its inspiration and guide.

To most readers the chapters of greatest interest will be those dealing

with Poland after 1914, the theme of the final sixty pages. The chapter entitled "The First Years of the Republic", by J. M. Penson, though replete with detailed information, falls far short of picturing the progress of the Poland in which some of us lived. General Kukiel, who was recently made a Knight of the Bath by King George VI, contributes two chapters on his special period, the Napoleonic era, written with the accuracy and clarity of the trained historian.

There are three maps; an ethnographic map would have been useful. One misses a good bibliography, but this will appear in Volume I, nineteen of whose twenty-five chapters are already in print. The book is not propaganda; it is the serious history characteristic of the Cambridge series.

Poland has for almost five hundred years been rich in historians. Those of the past hundred years have been of two schools, one seeking the reasons for Poland's fall in its interior weaknesses and failings, the other seeing that fall as caused by the rise of three expanding empires completely surrounding it, Prussia under Frederick, Russia under Catherine, and Austria under Maria Theresa. Many of the Polish writers in this volume belong to this former and pessimistic school. They well illustrate Poland's known capacity for objective self-criticism and lack of any tendency toward either self-excuse or self-praise.

New York City.

PAUL SUPER.

Friedrich von Gentz, Defender of the Old Order. By PAUL R. SWEET. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 326. \$4.00.)

THIS biography is an important addition to the growing shelf of excellent works on German history in the first half of the nineteenth century that have appeared in English since 1935. Among others, one would include in this list: A. G. Pundt, *Arndt* (New York, 1935); H. du Coudray, *Metternich* (London, 1935); R. Aris, *History of Political Thought in Germany, 1789-1815* (London, 1936); E. Kohn-Bramstadt, *Aristocracy and the Middle-Classes in Germany, 1830-1900* (London, 1937); E. N. Anderson, *Nationalism and the Cultural Crisis in Prussia, 1806-1815* (New York, 1939); W. O. Henderson, *The Zollverein* (Cambridge, 1939); E. J. Knapton, *The Lady of the Holy Alliance: The Life of Julie de Krüdener* (New York, 1939); V. Valentin, *1848: Chapters of German History* (London, 1940); A. J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1815-1918* (London, 1941); R. B. Brandt, *The Philosophy of Schleiermacher* (New York, 1941); and H. Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory* (Oxford, 1941).

Gentz, who "acquired a European reputation as the most gifted anti-Revolutionary and anti-Bonapartist writer in Germany", began his long career as a state functionary and, as we would call it, a "public relations man" in the service of Prussia. After 1802 he was mostly in the service of

Austria, though at times he also received part of his income from the governments of England and Russia, from Louis XVIII of France, and from the hospodars of the Danubian Principalities. Gentz was the secretary of all the congresses from Vienna through Verona (1815-22), and there was no statesman in Europe who knew more of the inside of diplomacy or could excel Gentz in the framing of a diplomatic document. He had begun life as a pupil of Kant and as a liberal; his study of some antirevolutionary writers, among them Burke, whose *Reflections on the Revolution in France* he translated into German (1794), and, still more, the excesses of Jacobinism carried him toward a moderate conservatism. From 1809 until his death in 1832 Gentz was in the closest association with Metternich, though not until after the Wartburg Festival in 1817 did he move over from a conservative position to an out-and-out reactionary one.

Dr. Sweet presents Gentz for what he was—a kind of adventurer. There is some truth in Napoleon's gibe that Gentz was "one of these men without honor who sell themselves for gold". He was, says this biographer, "an earthy man. He loved food, women, soft-beds." He was a man, as Metternich once remarked, who "would give the Strassburg Cathedral for a good piece of chocolate". But he was an adventurer of genius; one marvels at the acuteness of his estimates of men and of situations, and one is bound to agree with Dr. Sweet that he was "a man of historic consequence".

Dr. Sweet sticks relentlessly to his main task as a biographer, and if one is looking for a full analysis of Gentz's ideas, especially as they are related to other currents of conservative and reactionary thought, he will be disappointed; for example, Joseph de Maistre, Novalis, Baader, Görres, and Schleiermacher are barely mentioned, and Friedrich Schlegel and Bonald appear only in a few lines. Likewise, for as detailed a biography as this there is very little of the "times". But within the limits he has set for himself the author has been unusually successful. The material has been thoroughly worked over, the plan is excellent, and the author's style admirably clear and *juste*.

Oberlin College.

FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

A Generation of Materialism, 1871-1900. By CARLTON J. H. HAYES, Columbia University. [The Rise of Modern Europe, edited by William L. Langer.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1941. Pp. xii, 390. \$3.75.)

THIS provocative book is written by one of America's most distinguished Catholic scholars. In it he maintains that a split in the ranks of the liberals prepared the way for most of the troubles that beset mankind today. Prior to the seventies, he writes, "there were many varieties of liberalism", but "they all adhered, in one way or another, to that 'ecumenical liberalism' which had ever been actuated by a general and generous desire to free and dignify the individual and which drew support from every social class" (p. 48). Then, he continues, "when such ecumenical liberalism was per-

meeting all classes and parties and countries, something like a calamity befell it in the sudden upsurge of a sect of liberals", which he calls sectarian liberals (pp. 48-49). Prominent members of this group were promoters of big business, intellectuals, professional men, urban elements, petty bourgeoisie, Jews, and Masons (pp. 66-67). Outstanding characteristics of some or all of these sectarians were an emphasis upon economic liberty, individual initiative, private enterprise, and free trade; hostility to labor unions; opposition to governmental interference in business; promotion of free public schools; establishment of constitutional government dominated by the propertied classes; defense of pacificism and participation in war profiteering; the maintenance of freedom of thought and of the press; and "novel emphasis upon the liberating blessings, ultimately, of technology, natural sciences, and 'machine civilization'" (p. 50).

Having defined "sectarian liberalism", Professor Hayes then attempts to show how the various members of this group discredited the name liberal. This he does by intimating that their materialism culminated in extreme nationalism, power politics, imperialism, radicalism, militarism, navalism, racialism, and finally state socialization or economic nationalism as evidenced by state-maintained and state-directed schools and by protective tariffs (p. 210). As the author seems to view it, this economic nationalism constituted the seedtime of totalitarianism, personal dictatorship, and its attending social evils. Thus, he concludes, boys "schooled by the generation of materialism" grew up to fight the World War, "and it was some of their sons who would follow supermen into the totalitarian state and totalitarian war" (p. 340).

Since Professor Hayes is writing history, not prophecy, he says nothing about the Europe of tomorrow. But the import of his volume is clear. One institution was able to withstand the assaults of "sectarian-liberalism"—the church. Just as it resisted the pagans, barbarians, Moslems, Arabs, Turks, Luther, Calvin, and eighteenth century rationalism, so it withstood the "secularizing process" of the nineteenth century. For a while there was a crisis. Directed largely by those who expressed certain "philosophical assumptions about science, and especially with the carrying over of these assumptions from natural science to the so-called social science" (p. 124), there was a drift from traditional religion to the rise of modernism (p. 131). This movement was greatly aided by two strange bedfellows, sectarian liberals and Marxian socialists. Then came the change. Leo XIII ascended the papal throne, and another Catholic Counter Reformation occurred.

In a sympathetic and a charming manner Professor Hayes pictures Pope Leo XIII as the champion of the church's supremacy in the spiritual world. Proclaiming the church as a perfect society in itself, the pope, like some of his illustrious predecessors, attempted to improve conditions in the mundane world. With this in mind he enunciated in his famous encyclical, *Rerum novarum*, a platform of Christian democracy and Chris-

tian liberty. Thereupon, under his leadership the Catholic Church greatly increased its numbers and influence in Europe, the United States, and the British Empire (p. 147).

This stimulating volume is "living history", written by a man who has keenly observed and sincerely interpreted his age. Many persons will disagree with the author's point of view. Others, however, will accept some of the criticism heaped upon the heads of sectarian liberals. At the same time they will maintain that, like the church and Marxian socialism, these liberals were working to reach a Utopia but failed largely because of the weaknesses and limitations of man.

University of California.

FRANKLIN C. PALM.

The Anatomy of British Sea Power: A History of British Naval Policy in the Pre-Dreadnought Era, 1880-1905. By ARTHUR J. MARDER, Research Associate of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College. [Bureau of International Research.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1940. Pp. xix, 580, xv. \$5.00.)

No period in the history of sea power and of its influence on policy can compare in interest to the Age of Imperialism. From a purely technical viewpoint alone, the rise during these decades of the modern navy, with its battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, its wholly unprecedented standards of training, readiness, and efficiency—as well as, on the other hand, the resurrection of naval strategy out of the profound slumber into which it had fallen since the Napoleonic Period—forms one of the outstanding milestones in the evolution of naval warfare. But these professional aspects of this fundamental revolution are of less outstanding interest to the historian than the unique impact exercised by naval affairs during this period on the political sphere proper. In the Age of Imperialism naval power and naval policy, under the influence of Mahan's teachings, for the first and only time in history rise out of the role of a mere instrument of policy, its "handmaiden", into that of an independent factor; until at its apogee, in the years before the World War, the naval race forced by Tirpitz upon Great Britain becomes almost, if never entirely, the dominant factor in the relations between these two powers and thereby of the entire world-wide constellation crystallizing around this antagonism.

Yet despite the immense amount of labor and ingenuity devoted during the past twenty years to elucidating the role of naval strategy and naval competition in bringing about the ultimate catastrophe of the World War, the results have so far remained singularly disappointing, mainly because the subject has been almost invariably approached from the point of view of the political historian and in disregard of the complicated technical issues and arguments upon which it hinged.

It is, therefore, the outstanding merit of Dr. Marder's imposing study, covering in the present volume the larger, earlier phase of the imperialistic

rivalry, that for the first time it approaches this cardinal issue primarily from the naval point of view; and its further merit that it does so on the solid basis of a wealth of material which makes his work probably the most richly documented naval study in existence. The vitally important unprinted sources on which he has been able to base his narrative—comprising, apart from the relevant Admiralty Papers, the private collections of Earl Spencer and Admiral Lord Fisher—would in themselves be sufficient to ensure it outstanding significance. In addition to this the author has, with a truly astounding zeal, gone far beyond the naval field proper, covering practically every aspect of English public life during these decades directly or indirectly bearing upon it; accompanying every development in the factual sphere with a meticulous analysis of the reactions of public opinion, sifted from obscure provincial papers, trade journals, and pacifist pamphlets as well as from the big dailies and the service journals.

On the basis of this extraordinarily rich documentary evidence, the author has been able to present: first, an extremely vivid picture of the organization and working of the British Admiralty during that period; second, an exposition of the main strategic and technical issues facing it; and third, in the major part of the study, a detailed analysis of the influence of naval considerations upon the course of British foreign policy, from the eighties to the end of the Russo-Japanese War.

On the whole, this organization of the subject into a systematic introduction, followed by a historical analysis, would seem to suit the subject eminently well if the author had not tended to draw the dividing line between the two sections somewhat too sharply. The result is that the great strategic issues, dealt with in the first part, tend to disappear in the historical narrative behind a confusing melee of ephemeral moves and countermoves, diplomatic actions, foreign naval developments, panics, armament campaigns, parliamentary debates, and departmental currents and counter-currents. Thus the reader is left with a general picture of chaos, which is true of the earlier relations of Britain with her two main naval rivals in the eighties and nineties, France and Russia, but which no longer holds good of the incomparably sharper issues raised by Tirpitz's attack on British supremacy. While the latter aspect, in which Dr. Marder has trusted too much to the current inadequate interpretations, forms perhaps the weakest part of the whole, his elaborate description of Fisher and his reforms unquestionably constitutes its high light. Not only does the vexed question of the origins of the dreadnought receive its fundamental and final elucidation, but also, for the first time, there are an adequate recognition and description of the huge program of reforms by which Fisher transformed the British navy from the easygoing force of the turn of the century into the supremely efficient instrument of the World War.

The tempting but unfortunately far too few original materials reproduced by Dr. Marder leave, as our main request for the second volume, the

desire for a comprehensive array of the important strategic memoranda for the entire period from 1880 to 1914.

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

HERBERT ROSINSKI.

Germanizing Prussian Poland: The H-K-T Society and the Struggle for the Eastern Marches in the German Empire, 1894-1919. By RICHARD WONSER TIMS, Instructor in History at Trinity College (Connecticut). [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 312. \$4.25.)

For many years historians have been accustomed to the high level of the monographs produced by students in Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes's seminar at Columbia University on various aspects of nationalism. The present work, an excellent volume on a most timely subject, is a welcome addition to the field.

Following her national unification in 1871, Germany had an "Irish problem" of her own, brought to her by Prussia. The *Ostmarken*, or the Polish districts of the "eastern borderlands", became the scene of a bitter struggle between German and Polish nationalities. More than a fifth of all the Poles in Europe lived in the *Ostmarken*. The persistent efforts made by the Germans to Germanize Prussian Poland were matched by the zealous refusal of the Poles to submit to national extinction.

Dr. Tims's study seeks, specifically, to describe the German reaction to the dogged contest, as manifested in the work of the "German Eastern Marches Association", or the H-K-T Society. Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* and his Prussian agrarian program of 1886 acted as a spur to an already strong spirit of Polish nationalism. After Bismarck's retirement in 1890, Caprivi's policy of conciliating the Poles aroused a storm of opposition. The *Verein zur Förderung des Deutschtums in den Ostmarken* was organized in 1894 by a trio of millionaire landowners in Posen: Ferdinand von Hanseemann, Hermann Alexander Kennemann, and Major Heinrich von Tiedemann, from whose initials the H-K-T Society took its name. In the next twenty-five years the "Hakatists" sought to ease German digestion of the essentially indigestible Poles. The organization attracted the support of discontented patriots, "purple-faced Prussian agrarians" opposed to reduction of grain duties, Free Conservatives resentful of free-trade policies, National Liberals worried about Polish intransigence, and industrial and agricultural employers suspicious of assertiveness among Polish miners and farm hands. Furthermore, it enjoyed the good will of the blood-and-iron chancellor himself, sulking in Friedrichsruh. The society's original agrarian complexion was short-lived. It soon numbered many members in branch societies and became one of the most vociferous of the patriotic organizations which played a part in shaping Germany's type of integral nationalism.

Dr. Tims traces the efforts of the H-K-T Society to conquer the schools, acquire Polish lands, eliminate the use of the Polish language, and Ger-

manize Eastern towns. He examines the leaders and followers of the society, the folkways of "Hakatism", its local activities, and its relation with propaganda and the press. And, finally, he describes the dramatic collapse of the society in the debacle of 1919.

The author has utilized the available source materials in Berlin and Poznan, Poland, including the records of the association and the official publications of the German *Reichstag*, the Prussian *Landtag*, and the provincial *Landtage*. He has organized his material well. Especially effective are the chapter subheadings, which make for clarity in the narrative. It would have been better, however, to place the chapter on the Expropriation Act following that on the struggle for the soil, instead of interspersing a chapter on "Nationality and Language" between two subjects so closely connected. Slightly more attention to the "racial" aspects of the conflict might have been valuable.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Tims some day will supplement his fine volume with a treatment of the opposing phenomenon—the Polish nationalist movement in Germany. Another study could be devoted to the efforts of the Polish Republic to "Polonize" the nine tenths of Posen and the larger part of West Prussia acquired in 1919. Still another could be made concerning the wave of Nazification in Poland after 1939. Dr. Tims has indicated in his present volume that he is eminently fitted to undertake these tasks.

City College, New York.

LOUIS L. SNYDER.

King George V: A Personal Memoir. By JOHN GORE. Published by Authority of His Majesty the King. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1941. Pp. xx, 464. \$5.00.)

THIS supervised biography of "the sailor king" appears to be based chiefly on George V's own diary, on the archives at Windsor, Balmoral, and Sandringham, and on its author's interviews with Queen Mary and various high dignitaries of church and state.

The diary is described in the preface as a simple narrative, restrained, unadorned, and accurate. The same could be said of Mr. Gore's book. But whether, as claimed, he has kept out of it that adulation which, with gossip, indiscretion, exaggeration, and dramatization, were features of royal biographies and court memoirs that the king disliked, is another question. The whole tone of the character study, which covers a long life, is conventionally reverent. But even for "the average reader in the Empire" there is, one feels, altogether too much insignificant detail on the formal comings and goings, the purely ceremonial appearances of the prince and king. "Frank, simple, honest and good" no doubt he was—this wearer of the crown imperial. Perhaps such qualities necessarily add up to dullness. But it might have been fairer to relieve even an official account with a little of the salt and savor of a Strachey, a little more interpretation of how the king got that way, a little franker revelation of the part his good qualities

and his weaknesses played in certain crises in a long and eventful reign.

Probably the essential fact is that George V became king (in 1910) only because of the death of his elder brother, the duke of Clarence, in 1892. The following year he married his brother's fiancée, Princess Mary of Teck. Her part in the achievements of the reign Mr. Gore makes no attempt to deal with; though he states that the diary never fails to record this and the depth of the king's gratitude to his partner. No light is thrown, then, on the general impression that Queen Mary was the dominant partner. If so, Queen Victoria may well have founded the partnership when "in December [1892] he paid a visit to the Queen at Windsor, and she spoke to him at great length about his future, about marriage, and of what was in her heart concerning him".

Until this time, indeed until Queen Victoria's death in 1901, when he was thirty-six, King George "had lived in a privacy and with a lack of constitutional responsibility which seem remarkable to-day". His education had been that of a professional sailor only. It had, indeed, been carefully supervised by Edward VII; but the new king had carefully avoided the excessive strictness which his father, the conscientious prince consort, had inflicted on him. It was, then, "only during his father's reign . . . that . . . [George V] had done something to repair the gaps in his knowledge of English and Constitutional History, and to attain to the normal educational standard of the average public-schoolboy at the leaving age!" He was, moreover, if Mr. Gore is right, completely dominated by his father. Love and veneration for him were the habit of George V's life. "A certain diffidence" toward his father remained, in face of a family life with him which had been "an idyll of affection, warmth, gaiety and color". This certain diffidence was, it is suggested, the key characteristic of the ideal constitutional king who reigned—conservatively, conscientiously, colorlessly—from 1910 to 1936.

Willamette University.

R. I. LOVELL.

Allenby, a Study in Greatness: The Biography of Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby of Megiddo and Felixstowe, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. By General Sir ARCHIBALD WAVELL, Commander-in-Chief, Middle East. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. 311. \$3.00.)

ALTHOUGH an unfinished biography, this volume is complete as far as it goes. The outbreak of the war prevented writing the chapters dealing with Lord Allenby's postwar years, but the published volume covers the whole period of his life down to the end of the war, and these chapters, apparently, are in no way abridged or incomplete.

As a military biography the book stands out in its conciseness and its freedom from the mass of detail which too often swamps works in this general field. In some respects this virtue is carried rather too far. The three years of Allenby's service in France (hardly an unimportant period of his career) are hurried over with little more than a perfunctory interest,

and from first to last the author is interested in Allenby's character and personality rather than in the narrative of his professional career. The book, in fact, might be called a portrait rather than a military biography.

It is, nevertheless, a portrait by a skilled and discriminating professional hand. No biography of the period of the Great War, perhaps, has so marked a critical quality or sense of proportion; and although focusing his interest rather sharply on Allenby's personality, the author has avoided the conventional flattering portrait. In summing up Allenby's period of duty as inspector general of cavalry in the four years just before the war, he notes:

In one respect only was his readiness for war lacking: he had failed to win the confidence and liking of those under him. Only the few who knew him well recognized his mental powers. To the Army at large, and to the majority of the cavalry he was to lead, he was "the Bull", a rough, violent, headstrong soldier . . . a man not likely to lose his head in a tight place, but hardly a great general.

Roughly speaking, apparently the same could have been said after three years of service in France. Subordinates working on a more intimate footing had a higher opinion of Allenby's professional abilities; but these were few in number, and outwardly his record held out little promise of brilliant achievement. On the part of Sir Wm. Robertson it was a stroke of discernment to pick him out for the "success offensive" Mr. Lloyd George had decided on for the Palestine front. Not the least striking feature of General Wavell's presentation is that he recounts this dramatic culmination of Allenby's career without a touch of the factional spirit that divided "Easterners" from those who held to the necessity of a decision on the Western Front. He points out the false reasoning that inspired Lloyd George's projects in this theater and makes clear that it only added to the difficulties Allenby had to cope with.

It is not for a layman and an outsider to challenge the details of the final passage, in which the author ranks Allenby as "the best British general of the Great War". The Palestine campaign was a great achievement, and it was due to Allenby. But the fact remains that it was a minor league game, played out against an inferior and already battered antagonist. The war was won by the soldiers who finally overmastered the German army on the Western Front. Allenby was not one of these.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

T. H. THOMAS.

The German Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. By ALMA LUCKAU. [The Paris Peace Conference, History and Documents, published for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. xv, 522. \$5.00.)

FOR several years Professor James T. Shotwell has been encouraging well-qualified graduate students to prepare documentary histories of different

phases of the peace settlement at the close of the first World War. The general plan is the same for all. The student first makes a thorough search for the pertinent documents and then uses the assembled material for the preparation of a doctoral dissertation. In the published volume the dissertation serves as an introduction to the documents. Already two such publications have received notice in this *Review* (XLIV, 907-908; XLVII, 91-92). Dr. Luckau's offering seems to be the third in the series; others may be expected to appear from time to time.

The introduction to the present volume is a refreshing piece of objective historiography. It falls into four chapters: the pre-Armistice agreement; German preparations for the treaty; the German delegation at Versailles; and the German government's acceptance of the treaty. The second chapter dwells at length on the Paxkonferenz, an official committee of experts which, under the direction of Count Bernstorff, former ambassador to the United States, prepared and published fifty-one volumes of memoranda to serve the German delegation at the Peace Conference as a library of information. Though Dr. Luckau found no evidence that the Germans at Versailles ever made use of any of this material, she analyzes it for us in this chapter and has selected three pertinent documents from it for inclusion in the present volume. The third chapter is the longest and best. It tells the story of the efforts of the German delegation at Versailles to open negotiations with the Allied plenipotentiaries and to secure an immediate revision of the terms of the peace treaty. Dr. Luckau found ten different drafts of the speech which Brockdorff-Rantzau delivered on May 7, when the treaty was submitted to him at the Trianon Palace Hotel, indicating that great pains had been taken with the phraseology. Carefully considered in advance also was the manner of delivery. Although a diplomat of long experience, Brockdorff-Rantzau deliberately committed a breach of diplomatic etiquette by remaining seated, because he felt deeply "that it was beneath the dignity of a German to rise before the Allied plenipotentiaries, as if he were a criminal being asked to stand in court before his judges".

Dr. Luckau was fortunate in her contact with the late Dr. Walter Simons, the commissioner general of the German delegation, who gave her oral information, contributed personal records, and provided access to documents. His letters to his wife, written from Versailles, "offer us from the German side an almost unique personal account of the activities of the delegation—an intimate record of their plans, their hopes, and the work they sought to do". Dr. Luckau includes twelve of these letters in the volume. They reveal to us a cultured gentleman and a German patriot, who was at once sensitive to the beauties of nature in the springtime and wise to the ways of subtle diplomats.

The seventy official documents which form the bulk of the volume vary in length from a fraction of a page to a hundred pages. They begin with

Wilson's Fourteen Points and end with the appeal of the German government to the German people on June 24, 1919. Some of them were obtainable in printed form; others came from unpublished sources. Those that were not already in English were, with only one exception, translated into English by Dr. Luckau. The originals are available to researchers at the office of the Carnegie Endowment. By collecting these scattered records and making them easily accessible, Dr. Luckau has performed a valuable service, not only to students of history and public affairs but also to future peacemakers, who might well profit from the experience of those who were responsible for the peace treaties of 1919-20.

University of North Carolina.

MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

A Short History of Modern Greece, 1821-1940. By EDWARD S. FORSTER, Professor of Greek in the University of Sheffield. (London: Methuen and Company, 1941. Pp. xiii, 237. 12s. 6d.)

ESSAYING a history textbook, Professor Forster centers his account in the activities of important personalities in Greece—Trikoupi, Venizelos, the kings—in relation to external European events. The motifs are territorial expansion and governmental change. He stresses also military history, following several campaigns in detail, and emphasizes the periods when his visits to Greece heightened his interest. He reveals considerable firsthand information on contemporary Greece, and in treating officialdom he remains objective. One cannot readily disagree with his criticisms of recent Greek political life, nor with the statement that King Otho has lately come to be regarded as more of a patriot than his nineteenth century contemporaries gave him credit for being. Among the side lights, dust is "one of the plagues" of modern Athens.

The forty pages of introduction are only slightly related to Greece and, in discussing international relations from 1466 to 1908, raise more questions than are answered. Thus the work relates primarily to twentieth century Greece: some twenty-five pages recount the Balkan wars, eighty the World War and its aftermath, sixty-five the political changes down to Italy's attack in 1940. Many of the fluctuations between 1923 and Metaxas's dictatorship in 1936 were related to the conflict between proportional representation and majority rule. Others were related to Venizelos; rather as when Aristides was hated for being called "The Just", the Greeks came to have too much of Venizelos. The masses receive only incidental consideration, though the final chapter relays a tourist's impressions.

Less credit than due is accorded Russia (p. 12) for Greek independence. As a chapter title, "The Beginnings of the National Movement" (p. 105) suggests the background for the war of independence; instead it introduces an excellent account of Venizelos's feud with King Constantine regarding the World War moves to co-operate with the Allies.

Research may later reveal whether Italy's attack, charged exclusively to Mussolini (p. 211), may not have been encouraged by Germany to eliminate the Balkan flank in the planned campaign against Russia. "Politics are the primary interest of the modern Greek": if this statement (p. 217) is true, the "interest" is doubtless like the American's bridge-playing—more of a pastime than a motivating force. The Greek, being poor, finds that inexpensive political discussion and intrigue will fit his pocketbook. The author might well have explored the remarkable progress of the Greek merchant marine, other economic developments, educational advance, social legislation, and contributions to the arts. Indeed postwar Greece, with its inflow of more than a million refugees, might be studied as a vast social laboratory.

University of California (Davis).

VERNON J. PURYEAR.

The Life and Times of Masaryk, the President-Liberator: A Biographical Study of Central Europe since 1848. By VICTOR COHEN. Preface by JAN MASARYK. (London: John Murray; distributed by Transatlantic Arts, Forest Hills, New York, 1941. Pp. 272. \$2.25.)

THE gigantic forces propelling the present conflict were being forged in the days before the first World War. Two men whose names are closely connected with the current war were born within a few hundred miles of each other in one of the hotbeds of world conflict—Austria: Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, the liberator of Czechoslovakia, and Adolf Hitler, who invaded that country and thus started the second world conflagration. Both men were of humble origin, pariahs in the semifeudal aristocratic monarchy, and grew with the turbulent times, their ideologies being shaped by the upsurge of tremendous historical forces.

The ramshackle Austro-Hungarian monarchy was galvanized by the attempt to colonize the nations of eastern and southern Europe. In the process of absorbing and Germanizing the Serbians, Czechs and Slovaks, Poles and Ukrainians, Croats and Slovenes, this monarchy became a nursery of racial hatred and conflict. It needed but a spark to explode the gigantic powder keg. Against such a background and in the atmosphere of this brewing catastrophe these two men, so utterly in contrast, were reared.

Whereas Hitler became imbued with aggressive Pan-Germanism and dreamed of the master German race subjugating Slavs with their older brother, Russia, and other "inferior" nations, Masaryk, a Slovak by birth and son of a serf, as a professor of Charles University of Prague and the first president of Czechoslovakia, based his political philosophy on the equality and autonomy of nations, on social justice, and on scientific objectivity in his dealing with national, economic, and political problems. While Hitler became obsessed with intense, hysterical anti-Semitism and belligerent racialism, Masaryk even as early as 1899 did not hesitate to stand out against the misinformed public opinion of his own nation and Austria

and fight against the accusation of a Jew, Hillsner, in the murder of a Christian girl for the ritual use of her blood. Facing the risk of becoming a national outcast, he boldly rose against the popular belief of Czechs in the authenticity of certain old manuscripts which were supposed to prove the superior civilization and literature of this small nation in early history; he chose John Huss's motto, "truth will prevail", and maintained that the nation should not resort to doubtful nonscientific documents to bolster its morale.

While Hitler, as a sergeant, saw the defeat of the German army, Masaryk organized a revolutionary Mafia in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia, undermining the war effort of the Central Powers from the inside, then escaped from Austria and organized a Czechoslovakian army outside to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Allies. While Hitler lived after the war as a social misfit and built a secret organization to upset Germany's and the world's social order, Masaryk, as president of Czechoslovakia, built up a successful new nation, solved intricate national, racial, economic, and financial problems of the young state, and entered into peaceful and friendly relationships with all nations.

After finishing his life's mission Masaryk resigned the presidency, when eighty-five years of age, and died quietly in 1937. He did not live long enough to see his flourishing country trampled by Nazi soldiers and enslaved.

Victor Cohen, author of *The Life and Times of Masaryk*, has written a very informative book, with good insight into the history of Central Europe from 1848 and a clear picture of the background of the first and second world wars. It is valuable source material for the understanding of some moot historical questions of our epoch. A few slips—such as the reference to Dr. Kramar as a leader of the Social Democrats (he was a leader of the liberal National Democrats), or the statement about Ruthenia with Polish overlords, instead of Carpathian Ruthenia (previously ruled by Hungarians), coming to be a part of Czechoslovakia—do not vitiate the value of the book; neither does the frequent misspelling of Czech names or the inconsistency in geographic terminology, with mixed use of Czech and German names. These small defects, however, were not necessary. They could have been avoided very easily if Jan Masaryk, who wrote the preface, had had the opportunity to read the proof of the book.

University of Southern California.

BORIS V. MORKOVIN.

The Soviet Experiment. By HARRY BEST, Professor of Sociology, University of Kentucky. (New York: Richard R. Smith. 1941. Pp. vii, 120. \$1.25.)
The Kremlin and the People. By WALTER DURANTY. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1941. Pp. 222. \$2.00.)

The New Russian Empire: A Theory of the Soviet State conceived in Terms of a Dynamic Interpretation of Law. By ANDREW EFRON. (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor Company. 1941. Pp. 130. \$2.00.)

The Soviets expected it. By ANNA LOUISE STRONG. (New York: Dial Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 279. \$2.50.)

THERE is little in common between the four books under review except that each deals with some aspect of life in the Soviet Union on the eve of the current war. Anna Louise Strong has written her usual enthusiastic running account of events she has seen; Duranty has dramatized events he has seen or believed must have transpired to have brought about events he has seen; Efron has written a painstaking analysis of Soviet legal theory on a background of dislike of all that is Soviet; while Best has written a student's textbook from the point of view of a liberal who hoped for much in the Soviet Union, found some of what he hoped for, but has become thoroughly disappointed with recent trends away from what he anticipated.

To the historian Miss Strong's book has the merit of presenting an eyewitness's account of the Soviet occupation of Lithuania. She has presented an intelligent, friendly witness's account to be taken for what the reader is willing to make of it. Her early chapters provide an orientation for the reader who knows nothing of the Soviet Union, its peoples and their leaders. The final chapters assess the position of the Soviet Union in world affairs and her conviction that they will not be defeated. Her book is not scholarly, and it is certainly not intended to be, but it has the advantage of catching for the reader the enthusiasm of the Soviet peoples and their reasons for believing in their country. It goes far to explain the successful resistance to Hitler.

Duranty, as usual, provides fascinating reading. There are some who will be disturbed by the style which he has affected of late, but if one does not permit his sentence structure to cause worry, there will be found a wealth of material which is of importance from a man who knows a lot about the psychology of the Russians and, in particular, understands the extent to which the Slavic element in the individual is tempered by Bolshevik political theory and Bolshevik political theory distorted by the Slavic element.

Duranty centers his attention upon the events leading up to the war and begins his analysis with the murder of Kirov on December 1, 1934, as the event which "marked the end of a period of internal conciliation in the U.S.S.R. and drove the Kremlin to the fantastic 'Treason Trials' and the 'Purge', which undermined Soviet prestige abroad and thus aided the machinations of Hitler and his friends in London, Paris, and elsewhere". He paints a dramatic and plausible picture of the trials. In this reviewer's opinion he has caught the approach the Soviet peoples took to the purge and has explained why it did not debilitate the nation, as many outsiders

had expected. He quotes a Russian friend as saying of the purge: "I tell you, this is Russia; and for every man that is killed or scared or exiled, there are ten more ready to come and shoulder his job and its risks. . . . Russia can stand anything, and the Purge is worth what it cost, because it gave us unity, and got rid of traitors, and the filth of Opposition."

Duranty's book is also not scholarly, and it suffers from Duranty's penchant for quoting verbatim conversations which the author cannot have overheard or even heard about, as they took place between Stalin and his most intimate advisers. In spite of this fact, it is an important book because of the light it throws on the present war.

Harry Best's book sets out to be a textbook for the college student. The author is himself a distinguished teacher of sociology. The study in its early chapters is admirable, for it sets forth in plain, unadorned English the facts about the Soviet peoples and the past from which they spring. It is brief, the kind of book one might assign for a week-end reading before two weeks spent on the Soviet Union in a course in comparative government. As the author advances, his disappointment in the development of the Soviet form of government becomes marked, until he throws away all academic analytical calm to say: "Within the recesses of the Kremlin, there abides a dread, uncertain power, an inscrutable force upon which the light of day does not shine. It is this which rules the land and would rule the world." If this book is to be assigned to students, it had better be coupled in the same assignment with Miss Strong's, which is as enthusiastic as Professor Best's book is foreboding.

Andrew Efron's study is comprehensible only to the reader who is used to the academic discussions of a European university. The Anglo-American student of law will most likely put it aside halfway through as too analytical and unreal for the Anglo-Saxon taste. The European scholar would probably delight in plodding painstakingly through its ponderous sentences and complicated graphs, which are intended to express the nature of law as such and, in particular, to explain the system of "dual law", which the author finds clearly apparent in Germany and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Efron makes some long-to-be-remembered commentaries, such as, "Whereas Marx was primarily a thinker, a philosopher and a scientist, Lenin is scarcely anything more than an experienced and successful strike leader" and "Reading and resting seem to be the specific achievements of the Soviet revolution within the field of civil liberties."

Mr. Efron reviews the controversy caused by the teachings of Pashukanis and his development of the principle of the "withering away of the state". This was a powerful controversy within the Soviet Union when this reviewer studied in its law schools, and Mr. Efron's analysis is one of the most complete yet to appear from a person who has studied it from without.

Mr. Efron finds that there is a Soviet contribution to the theory of law,

for he says: "There has been no other group of scholars clearly to feel the dynamic element of law—its changeability and constant need of development." With this analysis the reviewer is in complete accord, for surely the Soviet legal theorists have traveled far from the principles of the school of natural law and have developed law as a tool of political science.

If one is looking for the whole truth about the Soviet Union in any one of these books, he will be disappointed. Rather he should be advised to read all four and search for the truth between the enthusiastic journalists and the analytical academic men.

Washington, D. C.

JOHN N. HAZARD.

Norway, Neutral and Invaded. By HALVDAN KOHT, Former Foreign Minister of Norway. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. 253. \$2.50.)

THIS book is an account of how one small country was sucked into the vortex of the present conflict and how the people have struggled and still are struggling to maintain their integrity in the face of the only foreign conquest they have experienced in their long history. Of the nerve-racking series of events that began on April 9, 1940, the date of the German invasion, Professor Koht writes: "It was like seeing a drama unfolding itself before us and at the same time participating in it" (p. 60). As the minister of foreign affairs he had to shoulder the difficult and depressing task of conducting the negotiations with the Germans. The reader can sense the emotional and intellectual strain under which the leaders labored, and yet the account is written with an objective detachment and critical acumen which, under the circumstances, is remarkable even in a writer of Mr. Koht's eminent historical scholarship.

In answering the question, "Why was Norway neutral?" Mr. Koht shows that the antiwar, even pacifist, feelings which swept through liberal groups in all the democracies in the twenties and early thirties naturally were strong in a country with Norway's long tradition of peace and with the successful maintenance of neutrality in the First World War to her credit. In this postwar period Norway took a vigorous part in the efforts to preserve world peace, until the disillusionment that followed the failure of sanctions against Italy caused the small ex-neutrals to concentrate upon plans for maintaining their own neutrality if—or rather when—another war should break out. Neutrality, Mr. Koht argues, was the only course open to little, half-prepared Norway, however unneutral might be the feelings of the people.

Although the way of the neutral was hard, it was not considered impossible before a rude awakening came with the Nazi assault. The chief purpose of the invasion, the author believes, was to complete the blockade of Great Britain, so it cannot be classed as a defensive move. That the alleged reasons of the Nazis were pure fabrication is easily proven, Norway

was not without some premonition of the danger, and twice false warnings of an impending attack had reached the government.

Finally, on a third occasion, on April 5, the Legation in Berlin sent another telegram essentially similar to the previous one. I admit that this time I felt rather sceptical, and anyhow I now felt the country reasonably well guarded against most imaginable contingencies. But of course I passed the information on to the military authorities so that the necessary measures could be taken (p. 56).

For the kind of invasion that was made Norway was not and could not be prepared, and the coastal towns could not possibly withstand an onslaught in which for the first time in history there was a perfect co-ordination of land, sea, and air forces. The resistance in the interior was the most stubborn that the Nazis met in any country they conquered. But unless adequate help came, it too was bound to end in a German victory, although it proved a costly one. Assistance was sent, but the forces of the Allies could not operate effectively without an airdrome, before long they were withdrawn, and Norway was inevitably sacrificed in a vain attempt to save France.

The most significant contribution of the book, however, is the account of how the government continued to function under fire during the harrowing retreat northward. The king and his ministers astutely avoided falling into any trap set by the Germans which might weaken the position of the government. At the same time the Storting, under the leadership of its president, C. J. Hambro, took meticulous precaution that in every eventuality the government might continue to function within constitutional forms. This is a noteworthy incident in the history of constitutional government.

The book also describes the "tug of war" through which the Germans tried to get some appearance of co-operation from the Norwegians but which succeeded only in unifying opinion and hardening opposition; the steadily mounting brutality that roused the tenacious stubbornness with which the people had for centuries resisted encroachments upon their rights; Norway's continuing "War of Liberation"; and finally there is a brief discussion of what the Norwegians are fighting for. Several significant documents which are appended add to the value of the book.

Saint Olaf College.

KAREN LARSEN.

Documents on International Affairs, Norway and the War, September, 1939-December, 1940. Edited by MONICA CURTIS. [Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. x, 154. \$3.00.)

THIS publication includes all the documents inserted in the Norwegian White Book, which appeared in three editions in the course of the summer of 1940, each new edition supplemented by new documents, the last one printed in July, 1940.

The British publication is greatly enlarged by documents from other sources, British, German, even French and American, regarding Norwegian policies of neutrality previous to the outbreak of war in September, 1939, a certain incident (the *Altmark* affair), the history of violations of this neutrality during the war, the national and international political aspects of the German invasion of Norway, and, finally, the acts arising from the German occupation and administration of Norway until February, 1941. As will be seen, the scope of the publication is somewhat larger than indicated by the title. All Norwegian and German documents are rendered in English, and the translations are very conscientiously done.

Evidently the book offers much documentary information about the whole story of the invasion of Norway, the reasons for it, and even the resistance in Norway after the complete occupation.

The editor holds out the prospect of a subsequent publication of documents regarding the violations of Norwegian neutrality on the part of all the belligerents. Perhaps, then, it may seem unfortunate to have included in the present publication some few and incomplete documents regarding the *Altmark* affair, which, even by the admission of the editor, could not now be adequately represented.

The documents are preceded by a succinct and objective historical introduction. There is mentioned an episode that only cursorily appears in the documents, *viz.*, the question of the neutrality of Norway arising from the Russo-Finnish War. In this paragraph some statements are made that do not conform with the facts. There was at that time no meeting of the Scandinavian foreign ministers in Geneva for the purpose of bringing about peaceful negotiations between Soviet Russia and Finland. And no advance information was given to Finland by the government of Norway to the effect that it would not permit the passage of auxiliary forces of the Allied Powers, which information is alleged to have prevented Finland from asking for help. Further, it is inexact to assert that the Swedish iron ore was usually transported by rail to Narvik and thence by sea to Germany; it was only a part, and the smaller one, that went that way.

Washington, D. C.

HALVDAN KOHT.

NEAR AND FAR EASTERN HISTORY

The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror. By BARNETTE MILLER, Professor of History, Wellesley College. [Harvard Historical Monographs.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. x, 226. \$2.00.)

IN this excellent study Dr. Barnette Miller has given an authoritative account of the famous Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror, in which the Ottoman officials, the army officers, and functionaries of the court were trained. Professor Miller's periods of residence in Constantinople,

now Istanbul, and the ample use of contemporary sources in her work have enabled her to give us this informing study of an institution of great importance for our understanding and appreciation of the Ottoman Turkish system. The student of comparative education will find here a work of value.

This Palace School doubtless provided the most thoroughgoing system of education for government service of its time. With the official class made up largely of slaves, originally of alien blood and creed, a careful and total system of education for them was necessary. For four and a half centuries it continued, although during the last century of its existence its influence was reduced to the training of functionaries of the court and domestics of the palace.

In the description of this educational institution Dr. Miller describes significant conditions, some of them strangely modern. The tests to which the tribute children were put were perhaps the counterpart of the modern intelligence test! The curriculum of the Palace School was based on the elective system of studies and "a system of merit consisting of carefully graded rewards and punishments". Music and physical education were both regarded as important studies. The only prescribed subjects in the entire curriculum of the Palace School were the study of the Turkish and Arabic languages and the Koran. There were also scholarships "on a differential scale according to rank, for the six halls of the Grand Seraglio and the three affiliated schools".

Although the stern and rigorous character of this education declined with the lessening military importance of the Ottoman Turks, the curriculum remained practically unchanged. The retarding effects of the slave system of government, with the exclusion of "freeborn Turks" from participation in the government, checked "the natural development of the Turkish people for several hundred years". Political intrigue contributed to the decline in vitality of the Palace School in the nineteenth century. Officially ceasing to function in 1922, the Palace School has as its sole surviving unit today, according to Dr. Miller, the Galata Serai Lycée.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Miller implies in the opening sentences of her introduction that "the modern Protestant missionary movement" has been a limiting influence in our knowledge of the Turks. The opinion of this reviewer is that in Turkey, as in most lands, the influence of the Protestant missionary is liberal and understanding.

Institute of International Education.

EDGAR J. FISHER.

International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands, 1800-1875. By JEAN INGRAM BROOKES. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 454. \$5.00.)

THE international rivalry in the islands of the Pacific between 1800 and 1875 provided a relatively mild curtain raiser for the expanding imperialism

of the last quarter of the century. It hardly foreshadowed the bitter conflict now raging in that distant part of the world. The single mention in this book of Japan—in connection with a commercial treaty concluded with the kingdom of Hawaii—is a striking illustration of how greatly the international situation in the Pacific has changed. This period was, nevertheless, one of importance. It witnessed the establishment of an all-British Australia, the colonizing of New Zealand, and England's annexation of the Fiji Islands; it marked the French advance into the Pacific by way of the Marquesas, Tahiti, and New Caledonia, and it saw the steady tightening of American bonds with both the Hawaiian and Samoan Islands. The Powers were staking out their first claims to the scattered islands of the mid-Pacific and, through their diplomatic maneuvering, setting the stage for future events which would determine—are perhaps today determining—where eventual mastery of the vast reaches of the Pacific may lie.

This is the story—primarily the Pacific rivalries of Great Britain, France, and the United States in the first three quarters of the past century—told by Dr. Brookes. It is a record which may well be characterized as detailed and comprehensive insofar as diplomacy is concerned. A great deal of new and interesting information, taken largely from the official documents of the period, is made available for the first time. The sparring of the governments concerned, the correspondence between foreign offices and diplomatic or consular officials in the islands, and the relations of the last with both European traders and native chieftains are all fully treated. The book is a very real contribution to our understanding of how the disposition of the Pacific islands was brought about.

It is, nevertheless, a somewhat confusing account. Dr. Brookes has neither introduction nor conclusion. There is no significant interpretation of the developing trend of the colonial policy of any one of the nations concerned; no complete survey of the effect of their activities upon the Pacific balance of power. We are given detailed information upon the processes of annexation but very little on either causes or effects. The economic aspects of Pacific rivalry are not so fully developed as they might be, and there is relatively little material upon the islands themselves or upon their inhabitants. The picture of developments in the Pacific which finally emerges is indistinct and blurred.

It is, perhaps, not altogether warranted to criticize an author for leaving out things which he had no intention of including, but the confusion in this case is heightened by a strict conformity to chronological sequence. The account of a crisis in Hawaiian affairs is abruptly interrupted while the scene shifts to New Caledonia; as affairs in Samoa reach a point of high tension, the reader is suddenly plunged into the midst of diplomatic maneuvering at Fiji. These broken threads are later picked up; we get back in time to Hawaii or Samoa. But there is no real continuity to the unfolding

story. After largely disposing of New Zealand, the Marquesas, and Tahiti in chapter VI, the affairs of Hawaii, Samoa, and Fiji are the author's chief concern. But while it would admittedly not have been entirely satisfactory to take them up one by one for the entire period, the author's technique of somewhat arbitrarily treating his topic by decades leaves a great deal to be desired. The fault may be the reviewer's, but he was confused.

The book is carefully annotated. It has a useful bibliography—although very few of the intensely interesting narratives of early American voyagers in the Pacific are included. It has a map of Oceania. Despite its limitations it remains highly useful for any student of international rivalry in the Pacific.

Ohio State University.

FOSTER RHEA DULLES.

The Dutch East Indies: Its Government, Problems, and Politics. By AMRY VANDENBOSCH. Second edition. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 446. \$4.00.)

IN bringing out a revised edition of his work on the government and administration of the Dutch possessions in Asia, Professor Vandenbosch has rendered a valuable service not only to students of comparative government and colonial administration but to all those who are interested in the future of the southwest Pacific. In its new form the book has preserved all the virtues of the old and has obtained the additional merit of timeliness.

The first three chapters are devoted to a brief description of the land and the people and to a general outline of the social and economic structure of the Dutch East Indies. The main portion of the book examines in great detail the constitutional structure and the actual working of the colonial government. The author describes the relations between the minister for the colonies and the governor general and the division of functions between the parliament in Holland and the people's council (Volksraad) in the Indies in a manner which indicates an excellent grasp of the political life of both the dependencies and the mother country. The description of governmental organization in Java and the outer possessions is presented against the social and economic background of colonial life, and we are constantly reminded of the unique local conditions under which the political institutions must operate. In addition to the sections which deal with the governmental structure, there are several chapters outlining the basic problems of colonial policy as they appear in the fields of education, land tenure, public health, and taxation.

The chapter on the national awakening enumerates the different groupings and associations that have played a role in the movement for independence and have given expression to the political aspirations of the people. The author is well aware of the fact that the races and tribes of the Indies are more conscious of the differences between them than of the similarities, and that the independence movement, therefore, lacks the strength of

national unity. There are several suggestive comparisons with the nationalist movement in British India, and Professor Vandenbosch correctly perceives that many of the differences that exist between the two are due to the fact that Western economy has penetrated less deeply into the life of the Dutch East Indies and has transformed the native pattern of living to a much smaller degree.

Many writers on colonial government whose experience lies largely in the Western world unconsciously use Western democratic government as a standard of comparison and thereby miss the essential character of the colonial problem. Professor Vandenbosch's historical and sociological orientation has made it possible for him to develop a real feeling for the inherent difficulties of colonial administration. He has shown himself fully aware of the tragic contradictions which Western civilization creates in technologically backward areas in Asia. To the extent that it provides education for the native population, it creates demands for social services which the native subsistence economy cannot afford; and to the extent that the colonial government encourages Western enterprise and creates capitalistic sources of revenue, it is criticized for encouraging exploitation.

Professor Vandenbosch has made a valuable contribution to the literature of colonial government. His study is a scholarly piece of work showing great skill and balanced judgment. His sympathy for the political aspirations of the native population does not blind him to the difficulties which confront the colonial power. The footnotes and bibliography indicate an excellent and discriminating use of the sources in the Dutch language.

Yale University.

NICHOLAS J. SPYKMAN.

War and Diplomacy in Eastern Asia. By CLAUDE A. BUSS, Professor of International Relations, the University of Southern California. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. xi, 570. \$5.00.)

WITHIN the few months that have elapsed since December 7, 1941, when Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor precipitated the United States into a second world war, Americans in general—the scholar, the intellectual, the man on the street, the young and the old—have struggled as best they could through what has often appeared as the uncharted waste of Far Eastern geography, politics, and international conflict. Since the publication about a year ago of the volume under review no subject has been more timely than *War and Diplomacy in Eastern Asia*. Furthermore, very few, if any, American students are better equipped through study, travel, and membership in our diplomatic service to present the subject than is Claude Buss, who, when this book appeared, was undertaking the responsible duty of executive assistant to the High Commissioner of the Philippine Islands.

It is no surprise, therefore, to discover within these covers an encyclopedic panorama. No recent book on the domestic and international politics

of the Far East opens so rich a storehouse in factual subject matter. In addition Claude Buss has given us a wealth of analysis and interpretation. In Part II he examines in detail the interests and policies of the Great Powers: the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Soviet Union, and the United States. His approach is realistic; his analysis of conflicting national aims is notably detached; his interpretations are penetrating and in some cases profound. The final chapter, on American policy to the spring of 1941, is a remarkable example in contemporary analysis. There is much here to explain why it required a "Pearl Harbor" to arouse America to its danger.

Unfortunately, these values, and they are very great ones, are obscured by a host of major shortcomings.

It is by no means clear for whom this book was written. A style at times picturesque, not to say racy, suggests some form of popular consumption. But no popular audience could be expected to follow intelligently the flood of unexplained historical allusion in which the book abounds. Certainly the general reader would want to know what is meant by "the Nanking incident" (p. 37), "the truce at Tangku" (p. 52), "a Five Province Autonomy scheme" (p. 54), and "a shadowy East Hopei Autonomous Area" (p. 54), to cite merely illustrative examples. Certainly, too, it can hardly be assumed that the general and intelligent reader is steeped in that historical background and perspective so necessary to an understanding of the welter of international power politics here presented. Yet this is precisely the assumption on which the author has proceeded. Let us note merely one instance by way of example. Although the American Open Door policy is mentioned on pages 18-19 and again on page 210, the general reader must wend his way through 527 pages before he will find an understandable statement of what this policy has been, how it has dominated the actions of the United States, and how it has affected the policy of every power involved in eastern Asia.

Neither may it be said that this book is intended for the specialist in contemporary Far Eastern history or politics. In the first place, it is not history. In the second, it may be presumed that the political scientist will demand some usable clue to the sources. This is not provided. Quoted statements are attributed to such authorities as "One American writer" (p. 55), "one outstanding Japanese business man" (p. 125), "A Chinese critic" (p. 162), and "Another writer" (p. 339). There is, to be sure, a brief bibliography at the end of the book, but the reader is assured that it is designed "to avoid the average cesspool of erudition" (p. 551)—doubtless a reference to more conventional works in the field of political science. Thus it is obvious that the bibliography is not meant for the specialist.

The answer to the confusion which this book presents would appear to be that the manuscript was hastily prepared for the press on the eve of the author's departure for his official post at Manila. In such circumstances the publishers might have been expected to assume greater responsibility for

the finished product. Had they done so, a host of inaccurate and careless statements of fact could have been avoided.

To the reviewer it is a matter of great regret that the book has been given to the profession and to the public in this form. The materials and the interpretations which Claude Buss presents are too valuable to be destroyed by careless organization, editing, and style. It is to be hoped the time will come when this book may be rewritten and supplemented in a manner worthy of the capacities of its author.

Duke University.

PAUL H. CLYDE.

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Democratic Spirit: A Collection of American Writings from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Edited with an Introduction by BERNARD SMITH. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941. Pp. xxxv, 927, v. \$5.00.)

A brief introduction to this handsome anthology displays imagination, insight, and scholarship. One will look far to find a more praiseworthy sketch of the history of American democracy. The prefaces to the selections are, in general, well informed and always admirably written. Since "enjoyment in reading" is the aim of the anthology, the editor has modernized seventeenth and eighteenth century texts, omitted footnotes, and reduced the bibliographical apparatus to a very brief list of general books. (The list does not, unfortunately, include Ralph Gabriel's *The Course of American Democratic Thought*, the most important work in the field.) Mr. Smith properly makes no claim to comprehensiveness—indeed, what anthologist could! But he has sought to represent every major aspect of the democratic movement. Some will regret that the role of science and the struggle for the broadening of educational and cultural privileges receive so little attention. Only a brief selection from Dewey's *Democracy and Education* represents, for example, organized public education, an immensely significant development in American democracy. Others, aware that our present concern with the survival of democracy overseas has precedents, will regret that the concept of an American mission to uphold democracy everywhere is chiefly represented by a selection, excellent though it is, from Joel Barlow's *Advice to the Privileged Orders*. On the whole, however, Mr. Smith has achieved both comprehensiveness and balance in his design. No single element in democracy, the struggle for religious, intellectual, and political freedom, the struggle for a greater measure of social and economic equality, is unduly emphasized at the expense of any other. Insofar as the rise and growth of American democracy can be understood apart from the antithetical conceptions of aristocracy, privilege, and discipline, a juxtaposition which the design of this anthology excludes in any formal and explicit sense, these documents open the way to a rich understanding of American democracy.

The poems, selections from plays, novels, public documents, philosophical essays, and humor are arranged chronologically from the *Mayflower Compact* to *The People Yes* and offer magnificent material for reflection. Nine of the hundred selections were written by women. Thirty-four of the writers grew up or worked in an environment that might properly be called "frontier". Only a small proportion of the authors are themselves humble folk; immigrants are, with the exception of Sacco and Vanzetti, virtually lacking, and there are no ballads or popular songs, an important expression of the democratic aspirations of the plain people. Seven Negroes, however, speak eloquently for their race.

In view of the comprehensive conception of the term "writings", the literary and intellectual quality of the selections ranks much higher than critics of democracy would like to have us believe is common in democratic expression. Great patterns of thought—natural law, rationalism, humanitarianism, Christian ethics—figure in American democracy. The anthology abundantly proves, moreover, that democracy has not been merely a negative protest against religious, political, social, and economic tyranny and privilege. It is made plain that democracy has struck positive notes—the worth and dignity of the individual, comradeship, multiple leadership, rationality and humanity, and, above all, social change and spiritual growth. It is also clear that the American people have not achieved the measure of democracy that is theirs without much effort and struggle, that democracy is neither a gift nor yet something that can be kept without ceaseless struggle.

Professor Schlesinger has expressed the wish that every American might read this book, a wish which the reviewer shares.

Columbia University.

MERLE CURTI.

American Issues. Edited by WILLARD THORP, Associate Professor of English, Princeton University; MERLE CURTI, Professor of History, Teachers College, Columbia University; and CARLOS BAKER, Instructor in English, Princeton University. Volume I, *The Social Record*; Volume II, *The Literary Record*. (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1941. Pp. xviii, 1035; xiv, 893. \$3.00 each.)

THIS anthology is divided into two parts, the first volume emphasizing materials primarily of interest to the historian and the second presenting selections from the literary record. The two portions of the work are tied together by the device of repeating in each volume the index for the whole work.

Dr. Thorp and Dr. Baker insist in the foreword that aesthetic considerations have controlled the choices for Volume II. "American eagerness to have a national literature", they affirm, "has too often led us to praise as creative writers men who produced social documentation rather than works of art." "We have aimed", they add, "to include in the second

volume only such writing as can honestly be said to show the artist's hand at work, consciously shaping his material." After this pronouncement they open their collection with John Smith's narrative of Pocahontas holding the captain's head in her arms to save him from the war clubs of Powhatan. Historians, who have long suspected that this tale shows the "artist's hand at work", will welcome this confirmation of their surmise even if surprised to find the story included as an aesthetic achievement. Convention and tradition, however, require that American literary anthologies include much material from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that should be classified under the heading, "Literary Primitives". Of this material the editors have made, on the whole, a good selection. After the colonial period the volume emphasizes heavily the major figures. "There are scores of authors", remark Dr. Thorp and Dr. Baker, "whose literary reputations have been unduly inflated through their fortuitous connection with contemporary events. Most of the latter sort have been eliminated without much compunction." Among those omitted for this or other reasons are James Branch Cabell, Willa Cather, and the two Nobel Prize winners, Pearl Buck and Sinclair Lewis. The editors seek, by including lesser artists, "to make apparent the breadth of America's literary achievement". To the reviewer Volume II becomes just another anthology.

Volume I, *The Social Record*, seems to be an expression of what has sometimes been called the functional approach to intellectual history. This method deals with ideas that arise out of specific social scenes and that persist only so long as they have social utility. The emphasis of Dr. Curti's book is on the clash of contending interests and ideas, and the general title for the work, *American Issues*, applies particularly to Volume I. Most of the material is presented in what might be called the form of a debate. Typical antitheses are: "Democracy and Aristocracy, 1783-1840" and "Reform and Conservative Defense, 1900-1917". The volume includes a wide range of topics. It is particularly rich in the nineteenth century, and its principal emphasis is on the social and political collisions arising out of American economic life. Anthologies of American thought are still in the pioneering stage. The present Volume I not only represents much painstaking research but breaks new ground. Not the least of its contributions is its inclusion of considerable unfamiliar material.

The functional approach to intellectual history fails to take account of some of the forces that bring about the change from one climate of opinion to another. In Volume I, organized on the principle of conflict of ideas, there is only scant suggestion of the long-range evolution of certain ideas. As a consequence the volume is weak in the twentieth century period. There is no attempt to present the religious and philosophical background of American thought since the First World War. Darwinism is included in the period before 1910, but the impact of that naturalism born of the new

physics is not suggested. The omission is intentional; there is no religious or philosophical material after 1910. It is probable that the vast complexity of the subject and the lack of space contributed to the decision to limit the post-1920 sections to two: "The Big Money, 1920-1929" and "Depression and Reconstruction, 1929-1940". In view of the pressing needs of the present crisis the reviewer regrets that the volume does not go more deeply into the intellectual problems of the era from November 11, 1918, to December 7, 1941. The book, in spite of this omission, is a fine work and a useful addition to the apparatus for teaching American history.

Yale University.

RALPH H. GABRIEL.

The Kingdom of God and the American Dream: The Religious and Secular Ideals of American History. By SHERWOOD EDDY. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941. Pp. xii, 319. \$2.90.)

IN these days when so much is being written about the preservation of the "American way of life" against the threat of the utterly opposing ideologies of Nazism and fascism, Mr. Eddy's analysis of the religious and secular ideals which he believes have inspired the makers of our history from the founding of the colonies down is a valuable contribution to the stimulation of our patriotism and courage. He maintains that the early settlers who came to our shores, whatever other motives they may have had, were primarily concerned to build here a state after the pattern on the Mount. The planters in Virginia, the Pilgrims and Puritans in New England, the Catholics in Maryland, the Quakers in Pennsylvania were all conscious of this mission. When the theological interests began to give way to more secular aims, a complementary movement developed, not so much superseding as derived from the original impetus, which found expression in the zeal for justice, equality of status, opportunity, and liberty of speech, thought, and worship, which we call "the American Dream" and which is found embodied in such documents as the Declaration of Independence, the Federal and state constitutions, the inaugural addresses and messages of our presidents from Washington to Franklin Roosevelt, and countless books on the nature and promise of American democracy. These twin ideals, Mr. Eddy confesses, have been shamefully betrayed by a third factor in our history, namely, a spirit of materialism, selfishness, and greed, which has resulted in the subjection of human rights to property rights and the exploitation of the masses of the people. The author's consuming passion for social justice is reflected in his scathing denunciation of this obstructive element in progress toward the realization of the high ideals cherished by the founders of the American nation.

Mr. Eddy's treatment of the interplay of the three forces of religion, democracy, and usurping privilege begins with a study of the European background of America's religious and social ideals and then proceeds to

follow their favorable and adverse fortunes through the course of our history from colonial days to the present. He modestly disclaims any pretense of writing as a historical expert, acknowledging that he has depended on historians from John Fiske to Charles Beard for the factual framework of his discussion. His indebtedness to Vernon Parrington also is clearly visible in the estimates of the contributions of thinkers like Roger Williams, Franklin, Jefferson, Emerson, Whitman, and Lincoln to our spiritual and secular ideals. It is when one comes to the last two chapters, on "Religion in American Life" and "The Twentieth Century", that one has the sense of coming upon the real purpose of the book. Mr. Eddy ceases to be the expositor and becomes the ardent preacher. He denounces the abuses of an economic system which has been "weighed in the balances and found wanting". He calls for a spiritual awakening of America, "We must stop the downward rush of the Gadarene swine." We must reclaim the religious heritage bequeathed to us by the founders of our nation if democracy and liberty are to survive in the most awful struggle for life that they have ever been engaged in.

Mr. Eddy's disclaimer of historical competency can hardly excuse the large number of errors in his book, which, one feels, are due to carelessness and which might have been avoided by a cursory reading of the manuscript by any competent student of American history. The reviewer has counted no less than thirty such errors, some of them rather startling, like the sentence on page 116: "Washington fought against the French and Indians in General Burgoyne's campaign in Ohio . . . when General Burgoyne himself [was] killed." Equally striking are like misstatements to be found on pages 16, 31, 49, 72, 75, 107, 114, 127, 138, 146, 156, 204, and so on for a score of other mistakes. It is a pity that so honest and earnest a piece of work as Mr. Eddy's should be marred by inexcusable errors of this sort.

Columbia University.

DAVID S. MUZZEY.

Historiography and Urbanization: Essays in American History in Honor of W. Stull Holt. Edited by ERIC F. GOLDMAN. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. 220. \$2.50.)

THESE essays by the Johns Hopkins students of Professor W. Stull Holt (now at the University of Washington) indicate that his teaching was a stimulus to the creative investigation of some of the central problems of American history. Some of the essays deal significantly with aspects of urban development in American life, and others touch upon the intellectual current that influenced historical writing and teaching in the nineteenth century. All of them show that Professor Holt gave his students a sharp appreciation of that interrelation of social, economic, and intellectual factors which too generally has received slight attention from American historians.

Because of the highly suggestive quality of the essays, it seems impos-

sible to this reviewer to set down adequately the many points which should stimulate other investigators; he recommends, therefore, that the essays be widely read by students and teachers of history.

If one among the many matters which have concerned Professor Holt's students is selected for comment here, it should be the question, "What is a city?" In view of the current reaction against the emphasis on rural and frontier factors in American history, all students should consider this question, and perhaps, like some of Professor Holt's students, including Dr. William Diamond, whose essay surveys recent American thought about the city, they may discover that they do not know the answer.

Occasionally the word *milieu* creeps into the words that Professor Holt's students have to say about the *city*, as it does into the words of other historians. But it is a word, like the phrases "spirit of the age", "trend of the times", and "climate of opinion", that actually explains nothing. It implies analysis where none exists. Historians who castigate economists, psychologists, and sociologists for inventing "jargons" should realize that metaphors such as those mentioned above may do nothing more than obscure further a definition already unclear.

As headings for the analysis of a *milieu*, this reviewer suggests the following: (1) the number of stimuli and the rate of their occurrence received by an individual from other individuals, (2) the peculiar body of meaning organized in these stimuli that is derived from individuals who have died, (3) the emotional and intellectual reactions to the stimuli by the individuals whom they touch, (4) the relationship with natural phenomena that accompany these stimuli, (5) the routine of physical acts arising from the commonly repeated technological and economic acts of individuals, and (6) the potentialities of a future earthly and supernatural life derived from these stimuli. As these six aspects of milieu fall into different combinations, they constitute a *city*, or a *frontier*, or a *rural village*, etc.; altogether, of course, they form an orientation for the individual in terms in which he understands himself, his society, and nature.

Washington, D. C.

RALPH TURNER.

Ploughs and Politicks: Charles Read of New Jersey and his Notes on Agriculture, 1715-1774. By CARL RAYMOND WOODWARD. [Rutgers University Studies in History, Number 2.] (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1941. Pp. xxvi, 468. \$5.00.)

THE origin of this substantial volume is extremely interesting. For a century editors and biographers assumed that Benjamin Franklin owned and operated a farm near Burlington, New Jersey. The sole basis for this belief was the contents of an incomplete letter, with date and signature missing, which Jared Sparks accepted as Franklin's work. Some fifteen years ago,

while gathering data for his history of New Jersey agriculture, Dr. Woodward began what proved to be an extended search for this farm. The account of his investigation and the reasons for concluding that Franklin was not a farmer are given in the foreword of *Ploughs and Politicks*. This foreword is a meticulous study in historical criticism which is as intriguing as the best of detective stories, and it deserves careful attention in graduate seminars.

During the search Dr. Woodward enlisted the aid of the Burlington County agricultural agent, who brought a much-worn and age-stained volume on agriculture to his attention. It proved to be a copy of the 1681 edition of John Worlidge's *Systema agriculturae*. More important, however, was the fact that the book was copiously interleaved with the notes of a New Jersey farmer. These data proved to be the records of Charles Read, owner of the farm and author of the letter hitherto attributed to Franklin.

Book I of *Ploughs and Politicks* is a carefully delineated biography of Charles Read, whose acquaintance with practically every phase of life and every important personage in New Jersey and Pennsylvania during the half century prior to the American Revolution amply justifies the undertaking. He was collector of the port of Burlington, secretary of the province, speaker of the assembly, member of the council, justice of the supreme court, colonel of the militia, and commissioner to the Indians. In private life he was a farmer and owner of a fishery, a land speculator, a pioneer in the iron industry, and, in later life, a merchant. Culturally he also had many interests, including charter memberships in the library companies of Philadelphia and Burlington and elected membership in the American Philosophical Society. By virtue of these facts Book I is not only a biography of an important and hitherto little-known colonial but a contribution to a fuller understanding of the background of the Revolution.

Book II consists of Read's notes on farming. They have been rearranged and grouped in seven chapters according to subject matter. Each chapter is prefaced with an introduction which provides background information and directs attention to unusual features. Copious footnotes are also provided, and the sketches which illustrated the original notes, ranging from a pattern for a cap to a diagram of a fishing weir, are reproduced in appropriate places in the text. The procedures employed in the editing are a monument to Dr. Woodward's diligence, patience, and capacity as a research worker and are an example which other investigators with comparable materials would do well to emulate.

In view of its nature and the manner of presentation, *Ploughs and Politicks* is probably the most important contribution to American agricultural history in the past decade.

United States Department of Agriculture.

EVERETT E. EDWARDS.

Robert Carter of Nomini Hall: A Virginia Tobacco Planter of the Eighteenth Century. By LOUIS MORTON. [Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies, No. 2.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press on behalf of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc. 1941. Pp. xi, 332. \$3.50.)

THIS work is a minute and careful study, based mainly on manuscript sources, of the economic life of Virginia during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The biography of Robert Carter of Nomini Hall (1728-1804) serves as the framework of the general discussion. Robert Carter III, grandson of the more famous Robert ("King") Carter, was a wealthy planter who had inherited thousands of acres of land and hundreds of slaves. He spent the greater part of his life on the fine estate of Nomini Hall, in Westmoreland County, Virginia.

As the public record of Robert Carter was not important, it is on his career as a planter, manufacturer, and trader that justification for this biography rests. His business interests included the ownership of stock in the Baltimore Iron Works, ships engaged in an active trade on the Tidewater streams, and a mill for the manufacture of woolen and linen cloth. His chief activities, however, were devoted to the management of his great landed estates. Part of his land was parceled out to white tenants who paid him a rental in money or in kind, but a considerable amount of it was divided into plantations of about one thousand acres each. In 1790 there were sixteen of these plantations, in five different counties. Each unit was stocked with animals, provided with slaves and tools, and supervised by an overseer or steward. The workers on the plantations included skilled craftsmen, both white and black, such as bakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, and bricklayers.

The value of this study lies in the assumption that in the agricultural and industrial economy of one wealthy planter we have a cross section of the economic life of the Virginia aristocracy of that period. This is in the main a sound inference, but it should be slightly modified by the consideration that Robert Carter was an exceptionally rich man and his case may not have been exactly typical of his class.

Much of the information here assembled is corroborative of accepted opinion, but some of it runs counter to traditional views. The main contribution made by the author probably lies in his showing that the white tenant and white skilled craftsman had a more important place in colonial economy than is generally supposed. He also points out that many of the slaves were able to acquire the skills needed in industry. By stating the grievances urged by his neighbors when Carter freed his slaves, Mr. Morton forcibly reminds us of the difficulties of emancipation.

One shortcoming of the work is the inadequacy of the treatment of social life. It is more than likely, however, that this omission has been due to gaps in the source materials rather than to the lack of diligence on the part

of the author. The work as a whole is scholarly and well written and will prove a useful addition to our knowledge of the economic history of Virginia.

West Virginia University.

O. P. CHITWOOD.

Secret History of the American Revolution: An Account of the Conspiracies of Benedict Arnold and Numerous Others drawn from the Secret Service Papers of the British Headquarters in North America, Now for the First Time examined and made Public. By CARL VAN DOREN. (New York: Viking Press, 1941. Pp. xiv, 534. \$3.75.)

It is time that this book was written, and well that it was done so competently. We needed to have these little-known incidents of our Revolution brought to light. The work is thorough, each story is documented, and the whole is bedrock material. Its natural defect is its inconsecutiveness. These episodes of spies and informers have nothing to do with each other. They fail of definite action; and as they are rarely caught up into the main narrative of the Revolution, their place and significance are partly lost. The chronology backtracks also: it begins in 1777 and then goes to 1775. Different stories are lumped together without connection. Therefore the reader, if not fresh from the general history of the Revolution, is likely to be confused. From this angle the book is hard reading.

Yet these defects are forgotten as soon as the Arnold-André story appears and dominates the book. And here at last is that story complete. Whatever few letters may still lie in other places, the Clinton Papers, now in the Clements Library at the University of Michigan, contain all the essentials. It is a virtue in Mr. Van Doren that he quotes freely; therefore his people speak for themselves. The whole course of Arnold's negotiations with André, coincident with his quarrels with the Pennsylvanians, shows his egotism, his self-confidence, his greed, and his boldness. Mr. Van Doren speculates little and gives no hint of a possible deterioration in character from the Arnold of the Quebec campaign to the Arnold of the treason. This lack of interpretation is a possible defect in the historian's otherwise excellent method. When he makes the reader draw his own conclusions, they are the more impressive. Yet one does like to have the backstage historian sometimes emerge to show the true inwardness of the play. When Mr. Van Doren does this the reader is grateful; and no part of the book is more impressive than the last three pages, in which the author utters his weighty judgment as to the relative virtues of loyalists and rebels. (The author of *Oliver Wiswell* might well have taken notice had this book been printed in time; the comparison is insistent.) And the author does point out that Arnold proves in his letters that his greed was equal to his disgust at his persecutors, while as to loyalty to his king, he had none at all.

In his letters Arnold turns himself inside out for our scrutiny. Yet there is still the question of his Peggy. (This review cannot discuss the con-

troversy which has been given space in the *New York Times* Book Review, as to who has been first with what and whether somewhere there may yet be more material. Here we speak from Mr. Van Doren's book only, with confidence in his integrity as a historian and accepting his documentation, as anyone can who has experienced the hospitable guidance of the Clements librarians.) Arnold's case has never been in doubt, but only the steps of it and the possible beginning. These are now made clear. But his wife—was she involved? One hoped that the Clements Papers would produce, as they have done in other cases, incontrovertible evidence in Peggy's own words and hand. What we get is only circumstantial and indirect.

Because André suggested that "the lady might write to me [over fripperies to be smuggled through the lines] at the same time with one of her intimates", Mr. Van Doren condemns her at the very outset of the correspondence. But if the friend were innocent, of which there is no doubt, might not Peggy be so too? The other links of the chain may, it is true, seem to involve the luckless wife; but still in the mind of this reviewer there is doubt. One wishes that for once she would speak for herself. She remains a shadow except in the well-known story of her hysteria after Arnold's flight. This was accepted as genuine by Washington and the youthful aides who witnessed it and (so far as we know) by the doctor present. But Mr. Van Doren condemns it and ends by accepting the story often rejected—that Peggy admitted to a friend that she was shamming—which comes down on the authority of the liar Aaron Burr.

But though Peggy may remain a perennial and teasing mystery, the book is worth our having. It completes our knowledge of a little-known side of the Revolution. It teaches us not to sentimentalize over the loyalists, as a class, as much as we have been inclined to do of late. And it strips Arnold of all sympathy, even in the bitter years of his exile. One can admire some bold villains, but not this one.

Concord, Massachusetts.

ALLEN FRENCH.

The Admirable Trumpeter: A Biography of General James Wilkinson. By THOMAS ROBSON HAY and M. R. WERNER. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1941. Pp. x, 383. \$3.00.)

For a bustling half century General James Wilkinson was permitted to give a distorted impress to American pioneer annals. Few of his contemporaries were so fortunate in their opportunities; none perverted them so thoroughly as he. His career extended through the American Revolution, the occupation of the transappalachian West, the acquisition of Louisiana, the War of 1812, and the first steps toward Texas. Any one of these fields of activity, except the last, afforded him possibilities for honored service. Wilkinson had the ambition, the talent, and the personality to achieve success in all these fields and a buoyant spirit that led him successively to seek to

exploit each. To these manifold opportunities, however, he brought an obtuse moral judgment and a fanatical vocabulary that often exposed him to contemporary distrust and ridicule and has since deterred many a biographer from attempting to interpret his tortuous career.

Earlier interpreters found that they must rely for much of their data on Wilkinson himself or on the equally biased statements of his enemies. Only within the past forty years have adequate researches in Spain, Mexico, and elsewhere revealed the naïve perfidy of the man and the full measure of good luck that enabled him to cover up his crooked course. This new material has led to the publication of numerous articles and a few complete biographies, notably Major J. R. Jacobs's *Tarnished Warrior*. The present volume emanates from virtually the same sources and has profited so fully from the interchange of information and of views that it may be regarded as another phase of the same documentary background, differing of course in personal interpretation and craftsmanship.

The authors, and more specially Mr. Hay, to whose efforts of many years the present offering is largely due, have generally refrained from interpretation. Yet they recognize that Wilkinson had an "unscrupulous propensity" for intrigue; that he played "fast and loose" with colleagues and opponents of high and low degree, both domestic and alien; that his lack of moral judgment rendered him unable to distinguish between treason and legitimate self-interest; and that he indulged in a phraseology that frequently made ridiculous his own labored self-defense.

The best the authors can do for their egotistical client is to emphasize his qualities as a family man (largely through his wife's letters) and to represent his personal business dealings as no worse than most of his contemporaries. But even on that basis, granting the value of certain public services, they can hardly rank him with our leading empire builders or remove his name from the conspicuous trio of traitors as public opinion commonly regards them. As in the case of the other two, the crafty general escaped the full consequence of his double dealing but not immediate distrust nor later censure. The authors definitely endeavor to base their narrative on an "unbiased examination" of "contemporary documentary material, personal letters and newspapers". Mr. Hay, as we know, has for years been diligently collecting such material, but the joint product, bereft of adequate interpretation or a fuller description of contemporary scenes and characters, is a plodding narrative that occasionally takes on the semblance of a mere catalogue and will hardly attract popular interest or answer the claims of historical specialists. The book does not present either in footnotes or in appendix definite reference to sources. Mr. Hay, indeed, appends a brief bibliographical note that reveals his own careful quest for aid, which he generously acknowledges. Mr. Werner, who presumably looked after literary expression, fails to equal his best work elsewhere. An occasional slip reveals the need for a more complete familiarity with the geographical background.

A thirty-page index helps to locate essential details of the narrative. The reviewer ventures the suggestion that the preliminaries to the "Burr Conspiracy", particularly with respect to Pike and Charles Williamson, need clarification and that the writers occasionally take for granted too much knowledge on the part of the reader. They have compressed the long and unsavory career of a conspicuous individual into fairly brief compass, but they still seem baffled to explain the numerous derelictions in that career or its relation to significant contemporary events.

Evanston, Illinois.

ISAAC J. COX.

Sixty Years of Indian Affairs: Political, Economic, and Diplomatic, 1789-1850. By GEORGE DEWEY HARMON. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 428. \$5.00.)

No general and truly comprehensive history of United States-Indian relations, one covering the entire period of national existence, has ever yet been attempted. Approaches to it there have been. There is no gainsaying that the task of writing such a history would be colossal, its accomplishment calling for considerably more than might at first appear and certainly for a knowledge, broad and deep, not alone of the doings of the Federal government but likewise of those of every territory and state involved. In addition, it would have to presuppose an intimate acquaintance with colonial policies and practices, their origin, their development, and, above all, their justification.

As a general thing and most regrettably, the historical perspective and the wide knowledge which this task implies are wanting in the book before us, notwithstanding that it purports to be for certain specified time limits, *vis.*, from the beginning of Washington's first administration to Fillmore's assumption of the presidency, a history of Indian affairs, political, economic, and diplomatic. It claims in its title immeasurably more than it yields in its pages, yet admittedly it does yield a good deal of facts, of statistics, and of opinions of one kind or another. It is weakest on the political side and strongest on the economic, the tables in the appendix, to mention one of several excellent features, being both convenient and instructive. In any such treatise, however, Indian military affairs, inextricably bound up as they are with affairs in general, ought with equal reason to have been included, and, as a matter of fact, they have been, but partially and not altogether accurately. The reader looks in vain for so much as an allusion to the Black Hawk War and for something more about the Second Seminole than its tremendous cost. The Creek War of the second decade is most improperly dealt with as if it were a part of the War of 1812. The author says: "In 1812 the larger number of the Creeks favored the cause of Great Britain and entered the contest against the United States" (p. 143). He thus overlooks the fact that the Creeks had a cause, a very real one, of their own and that the two causes, theirs and the British, were quite unrelated in actuality. To be

coincident in time is not necessarily to be identical in substance. On the same page and when speaking of the troubles on the Florida frontier, the author further says: "The result was a bloody war between the aborigines, urged on and managed by Great Britain on the one side, and the United States on the other." From what precedes, one would have a right to assume that the British were among the "instigators" whose surrender was insisted upon as a preliminary to peace, an utterly erroneous conclusion. Invariably, when dealing with situations in what he calls the "formative period", the author fails to distinguish, as he should, between individuals acting privately or as agents, say, of some fur-trading company, and the British government or the Canadian, as the case may be. His account is, therefore, misleading and highly prejudicial. Unfortunately, errors of the sort indicated are all too numerous; some are due to carelessness, some to ignorance, but there are others which, if not deliberate, are well-nigh unaccountable.

Throughout the book the chapter arrangement gives rise to considerable repetition or overlapping. There are three parts, and it is particularly noticeable in the first, *The Formative Period, 1789-1825*, already referred to, where the alternating for a few years and a few pages between the North-west and the South is an obstacle to a sustained and logically developed narrative. The second part, *The Coercive Period, 1825-1850*, does, at the outset, an injustice to the administration of J. Q. Adams; but from it an illustration can be nicely drawn of one peculiarity of the author's method, his tendency to evade an issue when he first meets with it. His stricture upon the Treaty of Indian Springs, for example, is decidedly progressive (see pp. 149, 174, 197).

Part III deals with matter that goes considerably beyond the declared scope of the volume, the title of it being *The Federal Government as the Guardian of the Indian*. Its third and last chapter is the one most open to adverse comment in a total of twenty-four. It comprises "A Criticism and Summary of the Indian Policy of the United States" and presents the same in a series of eighteen points. After every one of the points, the reviewer would write *When, Where, To what extent, Under what circumstances?* And she would especially query the correctness or applicability of such observations as are expressed in points six and sixteen. They are on a par with the astonishing claim that "Probably no government, in its relations with a foreign power, would have permitted the preservation of such records" (p. 28).

Aberdeen, Washington.

A. H. ABEL HENDERSON.

The Life of Margaret Fuller. By MADELEINE B. STERN. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1942. Pp. xvi, 549. \$3.75.)

IT is entirely possible that Miss Stern has in her files the materials for a definitive biography of Margaret Fuller. As for the present volume, it is

notably more inclusive and richer in detail than its numerous predecessors, drawing valuable new material from manuscript sources, Margaret Fuller's published work (known to earlier biographers but never before thoroughly digested), and journals and memoirs of contemporaries. And when Miss Stern writes straightforward narrative, she always writes competently and often very readably.

But for students of history and literature the usefulness of the book is sharply curtailed by Miss Stern's decision (very possibly made under pressure from her publishers) to abandon historical narrative, as employed in certain chapters which were earlier printed as magazine articles, in favor of sporadic excursions into novelized biography. This decision was at once unnecessary, for the authentic details of Margaret Fuller's life are amazingly picturesque and unfruitful. Never was the dilemma of the fictionalizing biographer clearer. Not only do Miss Stern's occasional inventions fail to entertain or convince, but they seriously weaken the effectiveness of her facts. To illustrate: dialogue which sounds stilted yet credible in her earlier, annotated articles becomes utterly unbelievable in this new context of fiction. Nor will students be able to verify Miss Stern's narrative, for she uses no footnotes and merely appends lists of sources, in one instance running to well over a hundred titles, alphabetized for each chapter but not otherwise organized for reference.

It must also be said that Miss Stern is too sympathetic with her subject to achieve an objective marshaling of all available evidence. For example, of the familiar and frequently caustic comments by Holmes, Emerson, Lowell, Carlyle, and Hawthorne, only Holmes's quip concerning Margaret's neck is quoted *in toto*; the other statements either are dismissed, after paraphrase or brief quotation, as trivial or are passed over in silence. Possibly Miss Stern may be correct in assuming that the last four observers all erred, but her volume would have been more convincing had she been careful to quote each man and then, if possible, refute his unfavorable verdict. Nor can any biographer safely ignore the less familiar but immortal remark of James Nathan, one of the men to whom Margaret gave her heart: "You must be a fool, little girl."

University of Minnesota.

TREMAINE McDOWELL.

Marcus Whitman, Crusader. Edited by ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT and DOROTHY PRINTUP HULBERT. Part III, 1843 to 1847. [Overland to the Pacific.] (The Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library. 1941. Pp. xiii, 275. \$5.00.)

This is the eighth and regrettably the concluding volume in the Overland to the Pacific series sponsored by Mr. and Mrs. Philip B. Stewart of Colorado and edited by the late Archer B. Hulbert and his wife, Dorothy P. Hulbert. It is the third Whitman volume, covering the fateful years 1843 to

1847. Following the pattern of the first two volumes, Mrs. Hulbert has included a final installment of her—and her late husband's—biography of Marcus Whitman (78 pages), together with the correspondence of the Whitmans with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with their families, and a few additional letters (184 pages). An index of names only and of the third volume only concludes the work.

The writers of the biographical sketch show so much preoccupation with the Whitmans' impending doom—the description of the massacre is the best in print—that by contrast they seem to slight the mounting and irreconcilable conflicts which the letters so poignantly reveal. Sent out to minister to the bodies and the souls of seminomadic Indian tribes, the Whitmans became increasingly the promoters of a white immigration that was to repeat the century-old American pattern of Indian dispossession. The Jesuits, so Whitman thought, hampered his efforts to convert the Cayuses to Protestant Christianity; the British, he felt equally sure, impeded the Americanization of Oregon. With growing enthusiasm for the country and, relatively speaking, with waning enthusiasm for the Indians, Whitman continually pleaded not only for missionaries but for “sheep growers”, “cattle growers”, “threshing mills”, “a carding machine”, “a mechanic of the right stamp, say from Lowell”. A better school, supply posts along the Oregon Trail, road improvements to the Willamette—these and kindred matters increasingly demanded and, as revealed by the evidence of the letters, enjoyed Whitman's attention. It is little wonder that the unimaginative and unsympathetic secretary of his board, the Reverend David Greene, should finally have written Whitman: “I doubt the wisdom . . . of your spending much time in exploring routes of travel, making roads, etc. . . . Do not feel that all Oregon is on your hands and that the planning, providing, and laboring for all its interests are devolved on you. . . . You must not forget your office, nor let the Indians forget it or the interests of their own souls” (p. 256). No one can read Whitman's touching letter to which this is an answer without being grateful that he never saw the reply. The massacre had ended Whitman's efforts to Christianize the Indians as well as his more successful efforts, if not to “save”, at any rate to develop Oregon.

University of Idaho.

HARRISON C. DALE.

Colorado Gold Rush: Contemporary Letters and Reports, 1858-1859. Edited by LEROY R. HAFEN, Historian of the State Historical Society of Colorado. [The Southwest Historical Series, X.] (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1941. Pp. 386. \$6.00.)

THE late James F. Willard began a search for contemporary evidence on the Colorado gold rush of 1859. Investigation revealed that it was not in Colorado. He suspected it might be in the local newspapers of the border

towns in Kansas, Nebraska, and Missouri. These were searched, and he and his wife collected a large amount of hitherto unknown Colorado material. This collection, together with accounts from other papers farther east, forms the reservoir from which the content of this volume has been drawn.

The editing is unusual. Dr. Hafen has not put his own interpretation upon the evidence. He leaves that to the reader. There are no editorial introductions to the extracts. Editorial comment is limited to careful footnotes identifying persons and places and supplying collateral information. There are more than three hundred separate items, varying from two and a half lines to several pages in length. These have been grouped into four main divisions: the gold rumors of the fall of 1858, letters from the mines during the following winter, the rush for the mines in 1859, and another set of letters from the mines in the spring of 1859. Items in each group have been arranged chronologically and geographically. The net effect is a continuous story of the gold rush from the first rumors in 1858, as they spread across the continent, to the proved gold production in 1859. It is a book of exclusively source material, but the extracts have been so woven together that they tell a continuous story with grip and interest that mounts steadily to the climax of reports from Russell, supported by direct investigation by the three best-known newspaper men of the time, Greeley, Richardson, and Villard.

This volume contains eyewitness accounts of the "Pike's Peakers" as they started for the mines, some on foot, others with wheelbarrows, pushcarts, oxen, horses, carts, and wagons. One can trace movements of individuals across the plains. There are accounts of the arrival of the pushcarts in Denver, the first hotels, newspapers, conditions in the mines, character of miners, and costs of living. Seemingly nothing is omitted. Not the least interesting are the accounts of the collapse of the boom and the desperate poverty and misery of the disappointed gold seekers as they attempted to return to their homes.

The volume is beautifully printed. Editorial work has been most carefully done.

Colorado State College of Education.

O. M. DICKERSON.

Business & Slavery: The New York Merchants & the Irrepressible Conflict.

By PHILIP S. FONER, Department of History, College of the City of New York. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 356. \$4.00.)

HISTORIANS have long known of the close relationship between the merchants of New York City and the Southern planters in the ante-bellum period. They have known something of the trade on which that relationship was based and of the strong political ties which resulted from it. They have not generally been well informed on the details of either story. Here for the first time they can secure that information in a single volume and learn why

antislavery leaders often referred to New York City as "the prolongation of the South".

Mr. Foner's study is based primarily on the private papers of leading merchants and on newspaper editorials and reports. Its general thesis is that "business men feared the dissolution of the Union and disruption of trade relations with the South more than they disliked slavery and more than they resented the control of the national government by the planter aristocracy". There are, however, enough exceptions noted to cast considerable doubt on a purely economic interpretation of merchant attitudes. Most merchants opposed slavery in the Missouri Compromise struggle and in the controversy over the annexation of Texas. They had little sympathy with the South even in the days of the Wilmot Proviso, but the threat to union resulting in the Compromise of 1850 shocked them and brought a sharp reaction in favor of conciliation. Throughout the fifties they maintained that attitude and opposed abolitionist radicalism. Opinion was not unanimous or uniform, but the Union Safety Committee usually brought enough pressure in favor of peace to satisfy all but the extremists of the South and to anger the antislavery forces. Yet merchants, like other Northerners, were generally opposed to slavery per se, and events like the Kansas struggle, the Dred Scott decision, and the John Brown raid stirred temporary antislavery reactions and produced a few permanent apostates. Some merchants became Republicans. Before long they were insisting that this party was the only safe, conservative party in the nation.

The great body of merchants, however, went with the tide of business. The panic of 1857 cut heavily into Western trade but left the South still buying. That intensified the efforts toward conciliation and brought the group to the election of 1860 in a mood that gave the Union ticket a majority of thirty thousand in the city. The secession of Southern states added to the pressure for compromise and led to serious talk of forming the Republic of New York. The merchants cooled off and revealed their true attitudes only when Western trade revived and a "little blood was let".

This is an excellent study. The research is thorough and well balanced. The presentation is clear and convincing. The author still has too many old-fashioned ideas about the sectional struggle as a whole, but these only incidentally affect his study.

University of Chicago.

AVERY CRAVEN.

Lincoln and the Radicals. By T. HARRY WILLIAMS. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1941. Pp. 413. \$3.00.)

THIS is an interesting and useful addition to the analysis of the Civil War by modern historians. While Dr. Williams's sweep is substantially broader than the truncated field of military history, it does turn the spot-

light upon the strange part that the congressional "Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War" played in the Federal effort at arms.

This field, be it said, is one the exploration of which has a particular pertinence to our public policy in the current bitter struggle for national survival. In this, as in some other of the specific segments which he has treated, the author has done effective research in the available documentation. And he has done more: he has employed some perceptive and critical imagination to suggest the truth behind the mass of facts.

From the outset the Radical leaders designed the committee to be a mighty engine to aid them to dominate the Federal military policy and command. Lincoln did not violently object to its initiation, but soon he found it an increasingly formidable obstacle to the prosecution of the war. Not only did the Radicals employ it as a weapon with which to wound those generals they did not like, but also they made it one of their major organs for a partisan propaganda.

Dr. Williams likewise paints an effective picture of the venom with which these Radical leaders regarded the President. Indeed, a subtitle, "They hated Lincoln", might well have been added to the book.

Quite a number of items of detail should have been checked. After Second Bull Run, Pope's army is pictured as having "crossed the Potomac in a night of driving rain, making for the safety of the forts guarding Washington" (p. 174). It is stated that Fitz John Porter and his corps did not participate directly in the fighting at Second Bull Run (p. 176). But Porter's troops held Henry House Hill and enabled the bulk of the defeated army to make its escape. After Gettysburg, Meade did not, as stated (p. 303), place his army before Washington, nor is it fair to say that in the 1863 fall campaign he "always drew back at the slightest sign of danger". In describing the 1864 political campaign Dr. Williams speaks of the Republicans, "who still called themselves the Union Party" (p. 315). Actually, "the National Union Party" was an 1864 adoption. Then the statement is made that Sherman and his army "had disappeared into the depths of the lower South on their way to Georgia" (p. 330). Actually Sherman started his 1864 campaign at Ringgold, Georgia, not far from Dalton. But such matters are minor, detracting little from the vigor and usefulness of the book.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE FORT MILTON.

William M. Evarts, Lawyer, Diplomat, Statesman. By CHESTER L. BARROWS. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. x, 587. \$4.00.)

WHILE history never repeats as to men or events, it sometimes happens that the characters and careers of notable figures present remarkably close parallels. William M. Evarts and Elihu Root in successive generations furnish an instance. Both sprang from similar stock; their education was much alike

and took place in almost identical intellectual atmospheres, though Root went to a small country college, while Evarts graduated at Yale; both began their careers as lawyers in New York City and speedily rose to an eminence which won general recognition for them as jurists who had few peers and no superiors; both interrupted their professional careers for occasional periods of public service in which they came to exalted station and displayed statesmanship of a high order; both were reformers in jurisprudence and conservatives in social and economic matters; both were strongly partisan Republicans who at times displayed considerable independence.

Before the memory of Elihu Root had passed from living recollection, Professor Jessup published a thorough, painstaking, and adequate biography of him. By singular omission there has been hitherto no biography of Evarts of corresponding value. Brainerd Dyer's admirable monograph on the public career of Evarts deals only with one phase of his many-sided activity. Even the usually impeccable *Dictionary of American Biography* in its article on Evarts barely mentions that he was Secretary of State throughout the Hayes administration. Mr. Barrows in the volume under review has done for Evarts what Jessup did for Root. It is a biography of distinction and in general a sound and adequate estimate of Evarts. A highly commendable feature of the book is the restraint with which it is written. There is no attempt to claim for Evarts an undue share of achievements in which he collaborated with other men nor any effort to make it appear that Evarts was always right in opinion or in action.

While writing for the general reader and covering all phases of Evarts's life, Mr. Barrows has addressed his book especially to lawyers. His accounts of notable trials or analogous legal proceedings in which Evarts figured as counsel are detailed and illuminating, particularly those dealing with the attempt to impeach Andrew Johnson, the Geneva arbitration, and the Beecher-Tilton case. His treatment of Evarts's orations on notable public occasions is discriminating.

Despite the general excellence of the book it has, in the opinion of the reviewer, three considerable faults. While the documentation usually meets the most exacting requirements, it frequently indicates only the location of the evidence and not its character. The treatment of Evarts's witticisms is unsatisfactory because much of the evidence cited is at second hand or of the reminiscent order. Although Mr. Barrows's research has been widely extended, as his bibliography fully attests, he failed to examine one considerable body of Evarts's papers. These papers, formerly kept in a fragile frame structure at Windsor, Vermont, have recently been placed on deposit in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Dyer used them in his monograph, and Mr. Barrows cites some of them through Dyer, but a direct examination would have been better.

Dartmouth College.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Songs of Yesterday: A Song Anthology of American Life. By PHILIP D. JORDAN and LILLIAN KESSLER. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1941. Pp. 392. \$3.00.)

WHICH songs should be included in an anthology of American songs is, of course, determined by the purpose that the anthology is intended to serve. What the purpose was which guided the selection of the songs in this volume is by no means clear. Certainly the statements in the introduction, page 13—"These are the songs of our people. . . . They are the narrative of American life set to music"—lead the reader to anticipate much more than the book provides. One might expect to find either representative songs sung in the various periods in the musical development of America or representative songs produced in these periods. Neither of these expectations is fulfilled in this book. Very few of the songs included in it are found in other collections, such as Spaeth's *Read 'Em and Weep* and Sandburg's *American Songbag*, or in the popular songbooks which have appeared from time to time.

Practically all of the songs included are from the 1840's, 50's, 60's, and 70's, and even these are far from representative of the best songs sung or produced in these decades. For example, there is a small section pertaining to the immigrants, but the picture given of the influence of Scotch, Irish, and German music and musicians is inadequate and misleading. And how, in the list of temperance songs, could the authors fail to include Work's "Come Home, Father", with the well-remembered opening lines, "Father, dear Father, come Home with me now, The clock in the steeple strikes one", or, in a list of songs of sentiment, "Listen to the Mocking Bird" or Hanks's "Silver Threads among the Gold"? In no one of the nineteen type groups of songs, with the possible exception of one, are the songs representative of the best of the type and period. It may be that the more familiar songs were intentionally omitted, but if so, this fact should have been clearly stated in the introduction, and some explanation should have been given of the criteria by which the selections were made. The authors evidently had access to a considerable number of important sources and could easily have reported a great deal of valuable information as to dates, the popularity of the songs, and the circumstances under which they were sung.

The introduction and the brief general discussions that precede each section contain many interesting comments, some of which, however, are inaccurate or misleading. For example, on page 15 the statement is made: "But it was not until the triumph of Andrew Jackson in 1828 that folklore, narrative, and legend based upon native experiences became prevalent." This, of course, is contrary to the evidence easily available in the reports of folklore societies and in the publications of scholars in folk music.

In spite of the limitations which have been cited, *Songs of Yesterday* may have considerable value to persons interested in the music of the period from 1840 to 1880. The book might well have been given the title *Songs*

that did Not Live. Under such a title the historian of American culture or music would know what to expect from the book.

University of Iowa.

ERNEST HORN.

Burlington West: A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad. By RICHARD C. OVERTON. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 583. \$4.50.)

"HE who buildeth a railroad west of the Mississippi must also find a population and build up business", wrote the first land officer for the Burlington. *Burlington West* started at the Mississippi as the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad. It remained the B. & M. until it was consolidated with its eastern affiliate, the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy Railroad, under the latter designation in 1880. The B. & M. received land grants, state and Federal, amounting to approximately two and three quarter millions of acres. Thus, finding a population to build up business could be readily combined with the sale of company lands to convert holdings into cash for construction and operating purposes.

The receipt of the Iowa land grant in 1856 enlarged the responsibilities of the company officials, and a new clerk, Charles Russell Lowell, a nephew of the poet, was added to give especial attention to the company's lands. The Federal grant of Nebraska lands enlarged the scope of the company's land business, and its land department functioned until 1903, when the last of its lands that were offered to the public were sold.

The author has given a sketch of the transportation problems which the railroads composing the Burlington system attempted to solve, but the greater part of the work is devoted to the activities of the land department. The complexity of that aspect of the railroad development is too easily minimized. The land department was responsible for securing the properties to which the railroad was entitled by public legislation. Squatters, state claims, especially to swamp lands, and competing company grantees made the problem of locating and securing the grants difficult. Before the lands could be marketed, it was necessary to inspect and evaluate each piece. The policy of sale had to be established. The advertising of the land, the securing, and often financing, of desirable settlers, and the discouraging of the undesirable were regarded as equally important activities to attain a common end. The department undertook to assist distressed settlers, publicized the methods and results of improved agriculture, and maintained demonstration cars in conjunction with the agricultural colleges. Some of the best returns on land were secured through the sale to auxiliary land and townsite companies. The Burlington sold its lands on easier terms, extending credit with lower interest rates but for higher prices, than did the competing roads. After it had disposed of all the companies' lands, the Burlington continued to maintain a Home-Seekers Bureau. The problems of Burlington colonization are suggestive of the history of seventeenth century colonization.

The author has had access to the six tons of land department papers now deposited in the Baker Library at Cambridge. He has also used the collections of public depositories throughout the Burlington area and the records in the several company offices. There is no pretense that all records have been exhaustively examined, but the work of the land department is comprehensively covered. The volume abounds with maps, graphs, and tables of comparative statistics, which are especially pertinent and well done. Samples and statistics of advertising, along with replies to inquiries of prospective immigrants, give an authentic picture of the department's practices.

The remark that "the temperance movement . . . had not reached the uninhabited west" (referring to Iowa, 1859, p. 159) can hardly pass unchallenged, and the use of italics for titles of unprinted theses is not customary usage.

This work represents a very extensive study. The factual information in *Burlington West* places in clear perspective the relation of that road to the communities that it helped to develop, but it must not be assumed that all railroads pursued similar policies.

University of Nebraska.

J. L. SELLERS.

Joseph Pulitzer and his "World". By JAMES WYMAN BARRETT, Last City Editor of *The World*. (New York: Vanguard Press, 1941. Pp. xvi, 449. \$3.50.)

THIS biography of the maladjusted Hungarian immigrant boy who tried to be a soldier and became one of the great figures in the history of American journalism follows the author's *The "World", the Flesh, and Messrs. Pulitzer*, published in 1931, the year that the *World* came to an end.

The book is gossipy, wordy in spots and sparkling in others—essentially the work of a hero-worshipping reporter rather than a carefully documented study. It contributes many new anecdotes of newspapermen who knew the subject and new materials culled from the files of the *World*. It presents once more the story of the restless fighter against corruption in politics and public office who kept up his fight for "public service journalism" to the end, despite the loss of his sight a quarter of a century before his death.

Soon after he had settled in New York, following a newspaper career in St. Louis, Pulitzer was plunged into the Cleveland-Blaine campaign, in which he steadfastly backed Cleveland as an honest man of the people against all charges of incompetency and immorality. During this campaign appeared Walt McDougall's famous cartoon in the *World*, "The Royal Feast of Belshazzar Blaine and the Money Kings". From then on the *World* battled through one crusade after another.

Perhaps it was against the rules for a private institution to address itself directly to foreign governments, but the *World* felt duty-bound to do so during the Venezuela affair of 1895. Again, there was nothing unprecedented in the government's financial deals with Morgan in 1895, but the

World carried the torch against the practice until government issues were offered to the public.

The author dismisses too briefly the great circulation war of Pulitzer against Hearst and the part which the *World* played in events leading up to the Spanish-American War, but he does record the brazen *World* attempt to send divers down to the sunken *Maine* to determine in behalf of the public the cause of the disastrous explosion. He reports also the *World's* quarrel with Theodore Roosevelt over the building of the Panama Canal.

Rightly the author goes on with the story of Pulitzer's paper following his death, for his influence carried the paper on into countless numbers of campaigns. These included the crusade against life insurance companies and the exposés against Germany before the United States entered World War I.

The *World* was not only a vital part of the newspaper press of its day but a bible for scores of editorial writers throughout the country. Likewise, Pulitzer and his newspaper contributed a model of crusading techniques to other editors and publishers. To be sure, Pulitzer was not averse to using striking technical devices and sensational features to stimulate the circulation of his paper. But after the *World* had reached maturity, it grew in dignity and poise until the impetus which Joseph Pulitzer's vigor had given it had spent itself. When the *World* died, "Pulitzer's plan" lost its keystone but not its reputation. Chief among its mourners remains Mr. Barrett.

University of Minnesota.

RALPH O. NAFZIGER.

The Treatment of the Negro in American History School Textbooks: A Comparison of Changing Textbook Content, 1826 to 1939, with Developing Scholarship in the History of the Negro in the United States. By MARIE ELIZABETH CARPENTER. (Jersey City: the author, 114 Storms Avenue. 1941. Pp. 137. \$1.50.)

SAID the small boy to his father, "I see lots of stories about men killing lions, but very few about lions killing men. Why is that?"

The father replied: "I suppose, son, it's because lions don't write stories."

By the same token, no minority, particularly if it be an exploited minority, is likely to receive fair recognition in histories written by the exploiting majority. This is strikingly evidenced by Mrs. Carpenter's findings in relation to the textbook treatment of American Negroes. From an exhaustive study of the principal texts published between 1826 and 1939 Mrs. Carpenter concludes that "the account in American history textbooks of Negroes and their contributions to society has never been complete or well-balanced . . . even the best accounts now available for schools leave much to be desired".

The case is stated positively by a committee of the Mississippi Education Association, which in 1938 made a similar study of current books. From their report Mrs. Carpenter quotes:

Though only the truth may be told, the limited portion of the truth told results in a picture decidedly warped. The graduate of the Mississippi high school who has mastered his textbooks will have small understanding of and less liking for his neighbor, the Negro. There is scarcely a mention of the contributions of Negroes to American life . . . scarcely a hint of progress . . . Negro leadership [is] pictured at its worst.

This is due, the committee says, not to unfavorable bias on the part of the authors but to the fact that "the Negro is simply ignored, or treated only in terms of the white man's advantage".

This evaluation of the Mississippi committee applies fairly to nearly all the ninety-odd volumes analyzed in detail by Mrs. Carpenter. The effects of such treatment, of course, are unfortunate on the pupils of both races. The Negro child finds in his school history little to encourage him, to inspire pride of race, little incentive to patriotism and to a sense of national unity. The white child finds little or nothing to afford understanding and appreciation of the Negro or to prepare him to deal intelligently and fairly with the problems incident to the biracial situation.

School people generally, writers and teachers of history especially, will be interested and will profit by a careful reading of Mrs. Carpenter's excellent study.

Atlanta, Georgia.

R. B. ELEAZER.

Intellectual America: Ideas on the March. By OSCAR CARGILL. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. xxi, 777. \$5.00.)

STIMULATING and controversial, *Intellectual America* is a pioneer work which seeks to integrate and value native American literary life, the influence upon that life of European political, literary, and scientific movements, and the interplay of "ideologies" and literature, scholarship, and criticism in the twentieth century United States. The present volume is but the first of two, the sequel to be entitled *Ideas in Conflict*. A somewhat ambitious if brief foreword sets forth the author's concept of cultural history under the title, "Ideodynamics", which means for him: "the descriptive study of ideologies and of the results of the forces which they exert". The volume itself is organized under six general heads: "The Invading Forces" (French naturalism and decadence, German absolutism, English liberalism), "The Naturalists" (European naturalists, British pessimists, and American writers from Hamlin Garland to Joseph Wood Krutch), "The Decadents" (European and American—under which heading it is somewhat astonishing to find Archibald MacLeish!), "The Primitivists", "The Intelligentsia", and "The Freudians". A brief "Envoi" concludes the book.

Ideologies, according to Mr. Cargill, "are comparable to cosmic storms of force; sweeping the universe of thought, they determine much of human action, particularly on the grand scale, for few men act outside the influence

of some ideology". He regards his book as in the line of succession to "the thrilling new history of ideas which Robinson and Schlesinger crusaded for, and Parrington practised", but Parrington is for him an amateur, apparently because of Parrington's "judgment of all things from within the tired swirl of the worn-out ideology of Jeffersonian agrarianism". If philosophy, he says, be the science of what is possible, then ideodynamics is "the science of *what is*: a statement of the world's confusions from which philosophy, like poetry, may beguile us, but to which we must return for sanity and health".

There is not space further to summarize Mr. Cargill's theoretical defense of his work, but enough has been cited to show its analogue with "science" and the "scientific method", strongly suggestive of some of Henry Adams's presuppositions. It may indeed be true as a metaphor that ideologies are "comparable to cosmic storms of force", but whatever may be meant by the "universe of thought", the word "force" has transformed its meaning in this sentence, and the "universe of thought" is an abstraction. Moreover, there is some obligation upon the writer who claims a quasi-scientific sanction for his book to preserve the objectivity of the scientific researcher. To speak of the "tired swirl of the worn-out ideology of Jeffersonian agrarianism" is not, in this sense, to be scientific about a philosophy of value which is not thought to be worn-out or weary at Nashville.

Mr. Cargill's pages, however, find their strength in something more remote from scientific objectivity. His are value judgments. His bias is nowhere more clearly displayed than in his discussion of the teaching of literature and history in the universities and in his account of the neo-humanists. For example, one finds a passage like this:

Then what crimes were committed in the academies in the holy name of literature! Harvard, never content with a secondary role, soon excelled Hopkins in the discipline. Francis James Child, son of a Boston sailmaker and student at Göttingen and Berlin, was elevated in 1876, after twenty-five good years of theme reading at Harvard, into a professorship, and between 1883 and 1893 brought out his five volumes of *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. This heroic piece of collecting has been inordinately praised in academic circles, but it is on the whole a monument to the simple credulity of a good man in the current dogma of Primitivism.

One may share Mr. Cargill's dislike of Germanic methods, but one can scarcely accept such a passage as exemplifying "the science of *what is*", Mr. Cargill's shorthand definition of "ideodynamics".

The value of *Intellectual America* seems to lie in another direction: the illumination which a lively, prejudiced, and vital mind throws upon various aspects of our culture (chiefly literature). Mr. Cargill shows himself a frank and fearless critic, an iconoclast vis-à-vis a number of sacred cows. He writes as he feels; and as he is frequently impatient with solemnities, his style

varies from an excellent expository prose to a sort of shorthand journalism. His very imperfections, however, are part of the life of his crowded pages.
Harvard University. HOWARD MUMFORD JONES.

William Henry Welch and the Heroic Age of American Medicine. By SIMON FLEXNER and JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. (New York: Viking Press, 1941. Pp. x, 539. \$3.75.)

THE student of modern American medicine can explore few avenues in that field without encountering sooner or later the figure or the shadow of William Henry Welch. Yet until the publication of this biography, nowhere could such a student readily turn for adequate acquaintance with the man or his work.

When William Henry Welch began the study of medicine—reluctantly, for he would much rather have taught Greek at Yale—medical practice in the United States was almost entirely empirical. The sun of medical science had risen overseas, but it had not yet crossed the horizon in America. So it was postgraduate study in the laboratories of Ludwig, Cohnheim, Koch, and other Europeans that showed young Dr. Welch the promise of the new pathology, physiology, and bacteriology and sent him home determined to do what no other American doctor yet dreamed of doing, make a living in medicine without practice, by teaching and research alone.

In 1878 at the Bellevue Hospital Medical College, Welch began the first laboratory course in pathology to be given in America, began it in three small rooms furnished at a total cost of twenty-five dollars, “devoid of microscopes . . . devoid of specimens with which to work”, and almost devoid of students, though not for long. Thereafter Welch’s career was studded with significant firsts, pioneering ventures that by their worth and timeliness bred imitation and expansion until they had changed the face of American medicine, and that in the remarkably short space of fifty years.

As the first professor of pathology at the Johns Hopkins University and the first dean of its medical school, Welch directed a revolutionary experiment in raising medical education to university stature. Simultaneously and unaided, he edited America’s first scientific medical journal, painstakingly conducting with his own hand the voluminous correspondence it entailed and sometimes correcting the galley proofs between innings of the baseball game he could not bear to forgo. As president of the first board of scientific directors, he piloted the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research through its critical early years, stepping back into an advisory position only after the institute’s own laboratory had been established and one of his former students had been installed as its director. When he retired from his professorship at the Johns Hopkins at the age of sixty-six, it was only to head another venture, a university school of hygiene to conduct research in preventive medicine and train public health officers. And at seventy-six he broke still

another new trail by inaugurating America's first and the world's second institute of the history of medicine. Yet all the while he was constantly traveling, writing, speaking, and lobbying on behalf of the new medical science or some reform in medical education, for the study of hygiene or state support of public health laboratories. His biography is quite as valuable for the details it includes about the enterprises in which he participated as for its portrayal of a remarkable man, the portrayal both of an acknowledged dean of American medicine and of a teacher and counselor who was affectionately known as Popsy to thousands.

The Flexners, father and son, have told Dr. Welch's story ably and honestly. The effective way with words that made James Flexner's earlier volume, *Doctors on Horseback*, such delightful reading is evident here too, though with an obvious curb on his feeling for the dramatic. Simon Flexner, the father, was one of Dr. Welch's early pupils, his lifelong friend, and as director of the Rockefeller Institute his close associate. Dr. Flexner's memories enrich this volume, but they by no means monopolize it; they have been supported and supplemented by the memories of others and by extensive research in manuscript and printed sources, among which was Welch's lifetime accumulation of letters and notes, a vast, untidy mass of papers that the authors have carefully sorted and arranged. These now constitute the Welch Papers, which are to be deposited in the William H. Welch Memorial Library at Baltimore.

When a book does as much for its readers as this one does, they are perhaps ungrateful to wish it did more. Yet one who has met in written and spoken word the near-reverence felt for Dr. Welch by his medical colleagues cannot escape the impression that though he comes to life in these pages, it is with something less than his full measure of greatness. Unless, of course, his reputation was due in larger measure than his biographers indicate to the accident of his being born at a time that offered unprecedented opportunities for outstanding achievement in medicine.

Nor can one help wishing that the Flexners, who write so well about medicine in lay terms, had written more about the second half of their title, "the heroic age of American medicine". They do not quite fulfill the promise made in their opening chapter. We do not "see other laboratories grow" from the one Welch started, "see the reforms Welch sponsored . . . alter the practice of medicine", or "see the young men trained under his direction become fruitful investigators"; we are only *told* that those things happened. It is also to be regretted, however unreasonably, that these biographers did not attempt to knit the thread of their medical story into the pattern of American social history.

To all of which the authors can plead, of course, as publishers have a way of doing, the practical limitations of space, cost, and the general reader's patience.

Minneapolis, Minnesota.

HELEN CLAPESATTLE.

The Doctors Mayo. By HELEN CLAPESATTLE. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1941. Pp. xiv, 822. \$3.75.)

THE heroic age of American medicine is gradually finding its historians. Simon and James Thomas Flexner in their biography of William Henry Welch (New York, 1941; see above, p. 899) discussed the great developments that took place in the East during the half century from 1884, when Welch joined the faculty of the Johns Hopkins University, to the time of his death in 1934. And now Helen Clapesattle gives us a fascinating account of the most significant medical development of the Middle West.

To the average European physician, Johns Hopkins is known as a great hospital and famous research and educational center, similar in many ways to institutions of Europe. The Mayo Clinic, however, is to him almost synonymous with American medicine. It appears to him as something totally new, an institution that could not have originated anywhere but in America, a bold experiment that has succeeded. A fellowship of the Mayo Foundation is the dream of many ambitious young European doctors.

The Johns Hopkins Hospital was opened in 1889 in Baltimore. The same year St. Mary's Hospital was opened, with five Catholic sisters and room for forty-five patients, in Rochester, Minnesota, a country town of fewer than five thousand inhabitants. The Hopkins Hospital was staffed with the most brilliant young medical scientists and clinicians, all of whom had been trained in the foremost European centers. St. Mary's staff consisted of an old country doctor, William W. Mayo, and his two young sons, William James and Charles Horace Mayo, who had been trained in the Middle West and had never been abroad. They were practicing the whole wide field of medicine as partners in the countryside of Minnesota.

When the Mayo brothers died, both in the same year, 1939, the world lost two of its greatest surgeons. The Mayo Clinic was known all over the globe. Staffed by hundreds of physicians, it was giving medical care every year to tens of thousands of patients. And it had become a great center of research and postgraduate medical education.

Historians have devoted many books to the conquest and opening up of this country, to the building of canals and railroads, to the development of agriculture and industries, but the achievement of the Mayos is an American epic also if there ever was one. It impresses me as more American than any medical development that took place in the East. The East was always strongly oriented toward Europe, where it sought inspiration and examples. The first medical school, in Philadelphia, was patterned after Edinburgh. France was most influential in the first half of the nineteenth century. The founders of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine were mostly trained in Germany, and the new curriculum they established was a blend of the German and English systems. American medicine began to find its own ways with Daniel Drake (1785-1852), a man of the Middle West who explored the Mississippi Valley, that greatest valley that nature had ever created, who

explored its physical and social environment so that it could be made a healthy country in which to live. To this valley came William W. Mayo, the father, who studied medicine in St. Louis and after various experiences settled down in Rochester in 1863.

In the Middle West the Mayo Clinic could develop along its own lines, unhampered by traditions and European examples. In doing so it developed the form of medical service that made the best use of the new technology of medicine, namely, group practice. It demonstrated that group practice on a large scale is possible not only in university hospitals. It was able to attract the best minds of the medical profession, who were perfectly satisfied to *work in salaried positions*. It thus demonstrated that the best physicians are not interested in competitive business but wish to practice scientific medicine with a fair amount of social security for themselves and their families.

The Mayo Clinic restored the health of hundreds of thousands of people and made great contributions to the advance of medical science. Other institutions did this also, but the Mayo Clinic, in addition, established a new form of medical service that already has greatly influenced medicine and will do so still more in the future. Herein lies, in my opinion, the chief historical significance of the Mayo Clinic. Such a development could not have taken place in New York or Boston. It was possible only in the Middle West or West, and this makes the "paradox of Rochester" appear less paradoxical.

The brothers Mayo were pioneers who opened up a new path. It was obvious that sooner or later they would meet with opposition. They had been successful and had made money. It came not from oil or steel but from patients, and the Mayos wished to return it to the people. They established the Mayo Foundation for Medical Education and Research and very wisely wanted it to be affiliated with the University of Minnesota. Then the storm broke loose. All the resentment that had accumulated for years in a jealous and conservative profession came to the fore, and a bitter struggle ensued. The Mayos won, obviously, as all will always win in the long run who stand for a progressive future against an outmoded past.

The history of the Doctors Mayo and of their achievements had to be written. No one saw this more clearly than Guy Stanton Ford, who, as the son of a country doctor, dean of the Graduate School, and later president of the University of Minnesota, had always been close to the Mayos. It took years before he secured their consent to have such a book written. The University of Minnesota assumed the responsibility for it and entrusted a historian, Helen Clapesattle, with the task. She has fulfilled it admirably and has succeeded in writing a book that reads like a novel and yet is based on sound historical scholarship. The eighty-two pages of bibliographical notes at the end not only indicate the sources used but are a mine of information that will be very useful to historians working in similar fields. The very carefully prepared index makes it easy to consult the book.

With this biography of the Doctors Mayo the author and the University of Minnesota have made a great and lasting contribution, not only to the history of medicine but to the history of America at large.

Johns Hopkins University.

HENRY E. SIGERIST.

Alfred I. duPont, the Family Rebel. By MARQUIS JAMES. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1941. Pp. 599. \$4.50.)

ALFRED I. duPont (1864-1935) was orphaned at seventeen; a musician, he early became deaf—and soon lost an eye; his first two marriages were not successful, and he was estranged for years from most of his kinsfolk, including his three youngest children; devoted to the family-company—which he had saved from sale to outsiders—he did not, during his later years, even have a seat on the board. And yet, after all, he managed to lead a useful, reasonably happy, certainly an active life as behind-the-scenes politico, newspaper proprietor, Florida land investor and banker, and philanthropist.

Such careful contemporary biographies as this, utilizing interviews and correspondence as well as the usual printed and manuscript sources, are needed. (Notes at a volume's end should, by the way, be identified by chapter *headings*, to relieve the reader from constantly turning back to identify a particular note.) Businessmen, notoriously careless about biographical records, are particularly suitable subjects. It is fortunate that a member of the oldest and most important American industrial family has been thus dealt with.

Partisanship and an overstuffed effect are not entirely avoided. In the major controversies Alfred is certainly given all the best of it. His occasional manifestations of almost psychopathic ill temper are not, however, disregarded, though the author refrains from drawing conclusions. The ponderous circumlocutions and hog Latin of his letters do not suffice to present him as a witty correspondent, and his "delightful nonsense verse" is mostly ancient common property. After the explosive atmosphere of the Brandywine it is difficult enough to maintain equal interest in what comes later, and this sort of thing, plus details about the family dogs, does not help.

The subtitle, "The Family Rebel", if intended to have socioeconomic significance, would be more applicable to his cousin Zara duPont. After four months of the "New Deal" he feared "destroying . . . rugged American individuality". He opposed the deposit-insurance law, helped defeat a Florida income-tax bill, earlier opposed a Federal eight-hour law. But he advocated profit sharing, paid bonuses out of his own pocket, was lavish in private benefactions, conducted his own "public works administration". Astounding, exhilarating, and characteristic was his *personal* payment of old-age pensions provided for in a bill defeated, he believed, by hostile DuPonts!

He also advocated inheritance taxes and left most of his large estate to a foundation for crippled children.

The reader can easily avoid partisanship and penetrate minutiae to discover, perhaps a bit larger than life, a gifted, warmhearted, hotheaded, opinionated, constructive personality, somewhat embittered, perhaps, but not soured, who, to an unusual extent, employed his great wealth and ability in the public interest. Perhaps, with his mechanical and executive talent, he would have been happier and more useful had he not been born a DuPont but had been allowed to determine his own career from the first, free from involvement in family enterprises and feuds.

Vassar College.

KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER.

Fifty Years of Public Life. By DANIEL C. ROPER, in collaboration with FRANK H. LOVETTE. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1941. Pp. x, 422. \$3.50.)

FROM 1892, when he entered the South Carolina legislature, until 1939 Daniel C. Roper was either in public life or closely associated with others who were. Successively as clerk of important Senate and House committees and in the Census Bureau, as First Assistant Postmaster General, vice-chairman of the Tariff Commission, and Commissioner of Internal Revenue under Woodrow Wilson, and as Secretary of Commerce and minister to Canada under Franklin D. Roosevelt, his career included service under six presidents. He also participated actively in the Wilson campaign of 1916 and in the Roosevelt campaign of 1932, as well as in several others where Democratic candidates were less successful. A record of these services is now compiled and set forth by Mr. Roper "in collaboration with Frank H. Lovette". No explanation is vouchsafed with regard to the meaning of "collaboration" as here used, with the result that the reader must rely upon his own imagination as to what extent the narrative is "ghosted".

That Mr. Roper was a man of consequence in his party and that he was on terms of intimacy with some of its important leaders is without question; but it cannot be claimed that his volume adds any significant information to what is already known about the period it covers. Informal in style, interspersed with anecdotes, and somewhat discursive, it is the type of book to afford a pleasant evening's reading rather than one in which to seek for important clues or inside revelations concerning the conduct of recent political life. It contains nothing which will necessitate any revision of current historical treatments.

As a portrait of the author himself, of his personal interests and philosophy, the volume is more revealing. Being an old-fashioned South Carolina Methodist and an ardent Prohibitionist, Mr. Roper is disturbed by what he regards as a threat to our Christian civilization. He is concerned over the prevalence of divorce, the decline in church attendance, and the general

"abandonment of the ideals of the Founding Fathers". As a lifelong Democrat and a New Deal cabinet member he naturally opposed the business and financial policies of recent Republican administrations, but it is not entirely evident that he understood the full implications of the complex social and economic forces which were transforming American life during his time.

Converse College.

JAMES W. PATTON.

Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1925. Two volumes. [Department of State.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1940. Pp. cxxi, 957; lxxviii, 760. \$2.00; \$1.50.)

Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1926. Two volumes. [Department of State.] (*Ibid.* 1941. Pp. cxxvii, 1126; xci, 1023. \$2.00 each.)

Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: General Index, 1900-1918 (including the Regular Annual Volumes and the Appendices for 1901 and 1902). [Department of State.] (*Ibid.* Pp. iv, 507. \$1.25.)

In his annual messages which serve as an introduction to four volumes of American diplomatic papers for 1925 and 1926, Calvin Coolidge expressed pride in the reduction of the Regular Army of the United States to about 115,000 men. This was the irreducible minimum for a Federal constabulary but was altogether inadequate either as an army or as the framework of an "expansible" force, upon which the military policy of the nation was predicated. No other evidence is required that the foreign policies of the United States in those years—so well documented in these latest additions to an indispensable series—were governed by an entirely different set of circumstances from those of the present day. For example, Germany and Italy in 1925 and 1926 were not military threats to the continent of Europe or to the rest of the world; nor were they in alliance with Japan. The nature of fascism was revealed, to be sure, in the expulsion of an American journalist from Italy, but the affair was not looked upon as particularly portentous. Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia were independent states, more concerned with economic problems than with their independence and security. The Locarno Treaties held out hope for a stabilized Europe, and there was as yet no warning of the Great Depression to come. Although the United States continued to refrain from formal ties with the League of Nations, it was glad to be associated not only with its "non-political" activities but with the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. Mr. Coolidge's little homilies to Congress indicated that God was in His heaven and that all was well with the American people and their assured place in the world.

What types of diplomatic problem arose in 1925 and 1926? Here are some: the smuggling of liquor; the status of customs agents abroad; rights of the United States in mandated territories; "equitable treatment" for Amer-

ican oil companies in Albania, Iraq, Bolivia, and Mexico; refusal to support an American petroleum claim in Sakhalin because the Soviet Union was still outside the pale; regularization of the American position in the Caribbean; settlement of the sanguinary Tacna-Arica dispute; control of the traffic in arms; the Geneva protocol on poison gas; possible American participation, with reservations, in the Permanent Court of International Justice. These are all prosaic matters, for those were not exciting years, except for the French bombardment of Damascus and the perennial turmoil in China—the latter requiring diplomatic and naval action to protect American lives, property, and interests which nine hundred pages of these volumes are needed to describe.

In some respects the most important materials here presented are those which deal with American interest in rubber production in the East Indies and elsewhere. The so-called Stevenson Plan, taxing rubber exports from British territories, was the earliest large-scale attempt to deal with the problem of surpluses in basic commodities. It operated to restrict production and raise prices; and as Americans are by far the largest consumers of rubber, it acted as a levy on industry in the United States. In the correspondence with Great Britain as published in these volumes, we have an admirable exposition of the manner in which controls over production and trade, later so characteristic of totalitarian economic policy, affect the vital interests of some nations at the expense of others. Any American who is concerned with the consequences of an Axis victory is invited to read the illuminating descriptions here given of the effects of even a relatively mild interference with the free flow of raw materials, particularly those of strategic importance. The subject of rubber receives further treatment in an account of the Firestone concession in Liberia, which subsequently became a matter of acrimonious controversy. An exchange of telegrams between the Secretary of State and the ambassador in Brazil during December, 1925, and January, 1926, indicates an early interest in rubber supplies from South America—not as a precaution against the eventuality of war in the Far East but as a threat to British and Dutch export taxes and monopoly control. The incident is an interesting commentary on alleged American economic and military invulnerability.

One of the most valuable services rendered by the Division of Research and Publication of the Department of State is the General Index to *Foreign Relations* for the years 1900 to 1918. It would be difficult to suggest ways in which the organization and classifications could be improved. It must be pointed out, however, that the Index does not cover the special supplements of 1914 to 1920 dealing with the World War, Russian affairs, and the Lansing Papers.

As usual, these volumes are well edited, printed, and bound—indispensable source materials at a price which should assure wide distribution.

Institute for Advanced Study.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE.

The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt. With a Special Introduction and Explanatory Notes by President ROOSEVELT. 1937 Volume, *The Constitution Prevails*; 1938 Volume, *The Continuing Struggle for Liberalism*; 1939 Volume, *War—And Neutrality*; 1940 Volume, *War—And Aid to Democracies*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. lxxii, 659; xxxiii, 686; xl, 635; xxxi, 741. \$30.00 per set.)

THESE four volumes contain the state papers of Roosevelt in his mid-stream term of office. These are supplemented by his public addresses, by transcripts of the proceedings of his press conferences, which furnish a running commentary upon events, and by summations of policies embarked upon by the administration—the whole making a record of these times of abounding interest and high historical value.

The titles which these volumes carry indicate the trend of the times. They open with the dissonance attendant upon the President's insistence on disturbing policies of internal change and court reform; in their closing pages are to be found prophetic words: "When the dictators are ready to make war upon us they will not wait for an act of war on our part." The note of warning as to the state of the world is indeed struck in the days of the first volume; and it is repeated down the months with ever-rising power until it drowns out the noise of domestic conflict. The record ends with the President setting about arming the combatant democracies and the United States for Armageddon.

The outstanding characteristic of these papers is their revelation of what manner of man Roosevelt is. In the illumination of these documents many of the contemporary judgments upon him are grotesquely inadequate. The character of the man, his guiding convictions, his qualities of leadership, his eye for tactics, his sense of timing, his courage, his combativeness, his humanity—all these are revealed and illustrated in these enthralling volumes. In an impromptu 1937 address he conceded that he was persistent and consistent, attributing this to an ancestry "part Dutch and part Scotch". These qualities he has in full measure; and they have served a political and social philosophy which was not improvised to meet the opportunity that came to him in 1932 but which has been consciously part of his whole life. He told a Jackson Day audience that he had seen a great deal of the White House long before he occupied it; it had even then been clear to him that "properly availed of, the presidency instead of being merely a party headquarters could become the most important clearing-house for exchange of information and ideas, of facts and ideals affecting the general welfare". "I have tried", he added, "to follow out that concept." He bears constant testimony to his line of political descent: Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson. These he regards as liberals—believers in a conception of government providing equality of opportunity and concerned over the welfare of all citizens. To him the "square deal" of Theodore Roosevelt was an expression of

liberalism; Wilson's "new freedom" a wider application of these principles. In these records of the second term there are many references by Roosevelt to the background of experience and convictions supplied by his earlier career. The man who came back to public life to become governor of New York and then President took to the White House definite objectives derived from all that he had felt, observed, and acquired during his malleable years; and to further them he drew on the powers that inhere in the presidency for those with the will to wield them. Roosevelt's comparison of himself to a quarterback was appropriate. But he was much more than the quarterback. The addresses, messages, letters, the amazing reports of the press conferences to be found in these volumes build up an inescapable impression that it was a case of Roosevelt first and the rest nowhere. If the New Deal was revolution, Roosevelt was the revolutionary; if it saved the United States from disaster and disruption, Roosevelt was the Conservative in Tennyson's sense: "For he's the true Conservative who lops the mouldered branch away."

The objectives were clear to Roosevelt, but he had to seek the road to them by the experiments, expedients, and innovations which make these volumes, like the earlier ones, a record of major battles in the popular lists, in Congress, and in the courts. In his advocacy there is the note of urgency, the sense of a mission—democracy can be saved only if the causes which gave dictatorships their chance in Europe are removed. "History proves that dictatorships do not grow out of strong and successful governments but out of weak and helpless ones." Over and over he sounds this note of warning. Hence his zeal to give effect to Lincoln's theory of the function of government: "To do for a community of people what they need to have done but cannot do so well for themselves"; the urgency of his advocacy; his difficulty in seeing any virtues in the institutions and practices he assailed or any moral purpose in those, from judges down, who put obstacles in his way. Roosevelt in these domestic battles displayed the qualities and the defects of a superbly equipped crusader.

In his introduction to the 1939 volume Mr. Roosevelt says that from the day he took office the United States had "persistently and actively sought to prevent" the conflict that threatened the world, and which from 1936 was "definitely and unmistakably foreseeable". The "quarantine" speech of October 5, 1937, was a warning based on knowledge and a wise forecasting of the future; it reveals Mr. Roosevelt as the only leader in the democratic world who knew the realities of the situation and could foretell future events. He could even foresee the danger to his own country: "let no one imagine that America will not be attacked". But even his bold spirit quailed before the storm of detraction, resentment, and ridicule with which his warning was greeted at home and in the outer world; and in the following month at the Brussels Conference the American representative collaborated with the

agents of other powers in turning the meeting into a master achievement in futile appeasement at the very moment when the Axis powers revealed their unity and their will to mischief.

But from this time forward, consciously or otherwise, Mr. Roosevelt's activities, whether of speech or action, where they had relation to the external world, went toward the building of the defenses of the democratic world that are at this moment withstanding the fury of the long-planned assault of the mechanized savages. The record, which stops short by eleven months of the attack upon the United States that the President foresaw, is told in these volumes; and it is a story of foresight, courage, patience, and a resourcefulness in coloration which baffled and enraged those whose alternative policies, had they succeeded, would have left the democratic world, the United States included, without protection against the fury of the storm. In all his steps, cautious or bold, toward equipping his country in both the moral and material fields for the tests of the future, he attained his objectives, with one tragic exception: his failure in 1939 to get a modification of the neutrality law, with which there vanished the last faint chance that the United States could control the events that were then heading for disaster.

These volumes testify to the greatness of Franklin Roosevelt as an American president; but still more they reveal him to his times and to posterity as the Liberator and Defender of Mankind.

Winnipeg.

J. W. DAFOE.

The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832: A Study of Retarded Colonisation. By A. H. McLINTOCK. [Imperial Studies, No. 17, General Editor, A. P. Newton, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1941. Pp. xii, 246. \$6.00.)

THIS monograph was planned as a thesis for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the University of London and has the merits and demerits of such works. One of its chief merits arises from the comparative detachment of the author, who is a New Zealander and, therefore, able to approach the subject with a fresh and open mind. On the other hand, the limitations imposed upon the author by the requirements of such a thesis, as well as those inherent in that stage of his training, impel him to make artificial arrangements of material and summary judgments of character which otherwise he might not have made. Consequently the overlapping of material in the middle chapters of this book is rather confusing, while the application of such phrases as "They firmly believed" and "In all sincerity they feared" to advocates of eighteenth century colonial policy hardly indicates either profound thought or prolonged research. Due, no doubt, to the same causes are the confusion of terms in "the need for some legislative power there to administer justice" (p. 153) and the hasty generalization that "between 1783

and 1820 the only measures affecting the government of the colonies which received the consideration of parliament were those referring to the Newfoundland Judicature and the penal settlements of Australia" (p. 81). But despite these marks of haste Dr. McLintock has made a definite contribution to the study of Newfoundland history and has set in bold relief the underlying causes of the failure of eighteenth century mercantilism.

He shows that Newfoundland was an almost perfect example of a mercantilist dependency, in which the self-regarding motives of the fishing merchants dictated the policy of the imperial government to make it a nursery rather than a home of seamen and "a great English ship, moored near the Banks during the fishing season for the convenience of English fishermen"; and yet that the unwanted but ever-increasing resident fishermen, whom the merchants often lured to the island and left there while pocketing their passage money home, won out in the end and forced the imperial government to recognize them as a colony.

The legislation which embodied this policy, the social, economic, and intellectual conditions which frustrated it and proved the inadequacy of the judicial machinery administered by the fishing admirals, the prolonged wars, which finally eliminated the transient fishermen and gave a monopoly to the inhabitants—these are all set forth in due order and make interesting if rather sad reading. Not until 1811 was private property recognized even in St. John's. Not until 1817 was a resident governor appointed for the island. During the Napoleonic wars cultivation of land was admitted as a necessary alternative to starvation and, about the same time, some of the more intelligent of the inhabitants began to criticize the existing order. To the resident governors these critics were dangerous levelers, but as the imperial government was concerned with postwar economy and had no other legal means of raising a revenue, it gradually conceded their demands. In 1824 the laws of Newfoundland were revised, and she was recognized as a colony. In 1832 she was granted the conventional colonial legislature.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

D. C. HARVEY.

The Crisis of 1830-1842 in Canadian-American Relations. By ALBERT B. COREY, the St. Lawrence University. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. xi, 203. \$2.50.)

PROFESSOR Corey has presented a valuable and a very readable account of an important period in the history of Canadian-American relations. As the director of the series of studies, Professor Shotwell, points out, one of the chief accomplishments of Professor Corey is to dispose of the myth that an unfortified frontier in itself guaranteed a century and more of peace between the two countries. There is ample evidence presented here to show that the "unfortified frontier", instead of being a guarantee of peace, permitted con-

ditions to exist which on more than one occasion brought Great Britain and the United States dangerously near the brink of war.

Professor Corey begins his narrative with a brief, clear description of the countries and the peoples concerned. He then passes to the consideration of public opinion in each country in regard to the peoples and policies prevailing on the other side of the boundary line. Conditions leading to ferment along the border are then discussed. The causes of, and the events connected with, the rebellions of 1837 and 1838 are next described. The organization, plans, attempts, and failure of the Hunters receive adequate treatment, as do the reactions of public opinion more remote from the scene of border activities. The two major crises growing out of the period of the rebellions, the *Caroline* affair and the McLeod Case, are discussed in greater detail, and the story closes with a somewhat different approach to the Webster-Ashburton Treaty from the conventional one which was found in earlier textbooks.

This study affords a clear demonstration of the fact that difficulties or conflicts in international relations may, or do, occur partly, or perhaps largely, because of inaccurate information regarding actual conditions and a distrust or, perhaps, hostility because one people really does not know the other. For example, Professor Corey shows the surprise, almost the amazement, of the American public when it was learned that the inhabitants of Canada were neither "downtrodden" by British despotism nor desirous of being liberated from "British thralldom".

The final conclusion of this study is that the long period of peace and the final understanding and co-operation between the peoples of Canada and the United States resulted not so much from an unfortified frontier as from the habit, which was gradually formed, of settling their differences "by friendly negotiation, and not by war". "The discovery and acceptance of this idea at this time by both Canadians and Americans", writes Professor Corey, "were to be of fundamental importance for the future relations between the two countries. Without such an understanding there could hardly have emerged out of this period of crisis and unrest that substantial foundation upon which the relations between Canada and the United States have endured to the present day."

West Virginia University.

WILSON PORTER SHORTRIDGE.

Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico. By SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. ix, 554. \$4.00.)

SALVADOR de Madariaga is a Spaniard and so was Cortés, and his main thesis is that Cortés was a symbol of the Spanish spirit. In other words, we must judge him not by today's standards but by those in vogue in Spain when Cortés was born, lived, and died. In order to prove his point Madariaga gives us a sketch of what those standards were. They may be summarized in a few words—loyalty to the sovereign and worship of Jesus Christ and

the Virgin Mary. If a man was sound on these two points, he might commit any crime he wished against others. Cortés professed to be a true Christian, and whatever his thoughts may have been he never revolted against his king.

The author has indulged in a number of hypotheses which, like those advanced in his previous book, *Christopher Columbus*, can probably never be proved. Some of them are interesting and others fantastic. For instance, the motives underlying Montezuma's actions are described as wholly governed by his religious sentiments and reliance on his gods. Much simpler and more natural ones might be pictured. Cortés's conquest was accomplished chiefly by terror, a system with which we are now familiar. He began it at the Rio Grijalva, continued it at Cholula, again by Alvarado in Mexico City, and again himself in his Tepeaca campaign and those around the city of Mexico during the siege. Cortés himself acknowledged in 1534 that the *matanzas* in Cholula, at Tepeaca, and other places were part of his system to implant terror in the hearts of the Mexicans. Just as during the Moorish wars the Saracens were dogs to the Christians, so were the Mexicans to Cortés and his men. He killed them without mercy when it suited his purpose. All this system Madariaga ignores, and indeed he tells us that the man standing before Montezuma the day they first met was "the living incarnation of the Christian faith", whatever that phrase might mean. His men, an unruly horde of sordid adventurers, he claims to have been imbued "with a simple faith—which was to act as a useful bridge between the sacrificial faith of the natives and the purely spiritual Christianity whose bright light was soon to shine in their own countryman, St. John of the Cross".

The book is well documented with citations to well-known works, chiefly the letters of Cortés himself, the *Historia verdadera* of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, and the *Crónica* of Francisco Cervantes de Salazar. Far too much reliance has been placed on the two latter works; they both have to be used with much greater caution. The *residencia* of Cortés is referred to in a few lines (p. 447) as made up of a number of "accusations, some monstrous, some petty, some silly", and in a note which shows us that the author knew of the printed documents on this subject, even if we may well doubt that he used them. After all, these documents, all of which have up to the present not yet been printed, contain more history of the conquest than can be gathered from the works which the author chiefly consulted. Madariaga apparently took his opinion of this proceeding from that of William H. Prescott, in his *History of the Conquest of Mexico*. The latter says:

The whole forms a mass of loathsome details such as might better suit a prosecution in a petty municipal court than that of a great officer of the crown. . . . It [the document he used] can be of no further use to the historian than to show, that a great name in the sixteenth century exposed its possessor to calumnies as malignant as it has at any time since (III, 327).

The similarity of views on this subject held by the two historians is easily explained: both were apologists for Cortés—in fact Madariaga almost deifies him.

The work under consideration contains a number of errors of fact which point to haste in compilation. It might appear that accuracy was not considered important by the author, who relied on fine-spun theories to make a striking and readable story. This he has succeeded in doing. With the wealth of material at Madariaga's disposal the reviewer fails to see that he has used it to better advantage than Prescott, and in some respects he has used it to less advantage than Cortés's other Spanish biographer, Carlos Pereyra. Pereyra discovered in the *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Indias* by Juan Suárez de Peralta, the nephew of Cortés's first wife, Catalina Juárez, Cortés's true vocation; he had learned to be an *escribano* in his uncle's office in Salamanca; the stories about his studying at the University of Salamanca are just so much myth. This work apparently escaped Madariaga's notice.

From a nobody Cortés became a power in the land, so strong that the emperor became suspicious of his allegiance. His petulance over the delay in securing the emperor's approval of his equivocal position was frequently displayed in remarks which savored of disloyalty. Like the Wheel of Fortune which he constructed in Azúa in Santo Domingo, he went to the top but soon descended to the depths. Well would it have been for his fame if he had died in 1523, when his appointment as governor and captain general of New Spain reached him. His success was compounded of luck and personal qualifications such as courage, skill, audacity, a gift for securing the aid of others by honeyed words, and a sense of timing. From the day Estrada was made sole governor by the emperor in 1527, he went downhill rapidly. His descent was hastened by his faithlessness and his habit of imprisoning his own followers for the most trivial causes. This raised a host of enemies against him. They became more and more clamorous and virulent, supported as they were by the royal officials in both Mexico and Spain. The emperor, who had no objections to bestowing privileges and vassals on Cortés as long as he had deprived him of actual power, made him Marqués del Valle and gave him numerous grants, no doubt as a sop to Cortés's vanity. He steadfastly refused, however, to make him governor again. For ten years Cortés tried to carve out a new empire for himself, but his luck had deserted him. Thus, as a factor in the affairs of Mexico, Cortés had from then onward but a nuisance value.

Our author would have us believe that Cortés was a great statesman, not a seeker after wealth and glory. That he succeeded in planting himself and his followers in the place of Montezuma and his tribute gatherers is true. A certain degree of stability was obtained very early, strengthened by the vigorous and sane administration of the viceroy Mendoza and buttressed by

the work of devoted friars of San Francisco and Santo Domingo. This state of affairs continued for some three hundred years, gradually weakening as the *mestizo* population gained on that of the peninsular and creole Spaniards. Finally the edifice fell with a world-resounding crash, and with it Cortés disappears into the limbo where the Cid and other half-mythical Spanish heroes dwell. Madariaga, with all his fine words and extravagant praise, cannot bring him back.

San Marino, California.

HENRY R. WAGNER.

Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by IRVING A. LEONARD. Foreword by James A. Robertson. [Quivira Society Publications, Volume IX.] (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1939. Pp. xvii, 323. \$6.00.)

Dr. Leonard's scholarly research in the broad interests of the seventeenth century Mexican savant, Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora, has led him quite understandably to supplement his biographical study of the creole scientist with edited publications showing Don Carlos's interest in geographical areas now within the confines of the United States. Dr. Leonard's most recent volume, *Spanish Approach to Pensacola*, is Volume IX of the Quivira Society Publications and, although containing other documents, has as its most valuable item the lengthy report of the Mexican scientist resulting from his reconnaissance, in 1692, with the expedition under Admiral Andrés de Pez, of the northern littoral of the Gulf of Mexico in general and of Pensacola Bay in particular.

For a brief period near the end of the seventeenth century Pensacola Bay was regarded as the strategic key to the dominance of the whole gulf region. Sigüenza y Gongora contributed much to this idea, for shortly after the rediscovery of the elusive and somewhat fabulous bay in 1686, in connection with the search for La Salle's settlement, the creole savant prepared a memorial reciting the advantages of Pensacola and advocating withdrawal of the presidio on the east coast of Florida at San Agustín. From this memorial eventually resulted the expedition of 1693 led by Pez and accompanied by Sigüenza y Gongora. The expedition did not result in the occupation of the port because of the chronic financial stringency of the Spanish treasury. Re-occupation did not come until 1698, and then only after a reappearance of the French menace.

The documents edited by Dr. Leonard are confined to the first phase of the Spanish effort to occupy Pensacola—the preliminary survey by land and sea which was completed in 1693. With the exception of one, the Pez memorial, which has appeared in print in several places, all of the documents were found in the Archivo de Indias in Seville.

Although the story of the Pensacola project was ably told some years ago by Dr. W. E. Dunn in his *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf*

Region of the United States, 1678-1702, Dr. Leonard has been able, because of new documents, to present a more extended treatment. In no important respect, however, has it been necessary to correct the Dunn account. The high editorial standards for the Quivira Society Publications, established by Dr. George P. Hammond, managing editor, have been preserved in this publication.

University of Texas.

J. LLOYD MECHAM.

The Haitian People. By JAMES G. LEYBURN, Associate Professor of the Science of Society and Fellow of Pierson College in Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. x, 342. \$4.00.)

THE purpose of this book is to trace the development of the major social institutions of Haiti from their African origins and the conditions of plantation slavery, through the Revolution, the checkered years of independence, and the American occupation, to the present time of comparative internal stability and external good neighborliness.

Considerable space is given to the Revolution and to the early personalities—Toussaint, Dessalines, and Christophe—but, in dealing with the last hundred years or more, political events are appropriately subordinated. With respect to the period of the American occupation, however, the fragmentary references are quite misleading; but inadequacy at this point is not a serious defect, since Haiti's social structure, so far as we now know, does not seem to have been significantly affected by our recent contacts with it.

The book is divided into five parts, entitled Caste and Class, Religion, Sex Relations and Home Life, Politics and Economics, and Modern Haiti. The chapters on religion are of particular value. Their balanced treatment of Vodun (more commonly called Voodoo or Voodooism) is in commendable contrast with much other and more sensational writing on this subject.

Under Caste and Class we find a valuable description of the evolving land, agricultural, and labor systems, the transition from plantations, forced labor, and substantial production to tiny farms, prized personal freedom, and inescapable poverty. Professor Leyburn makes it quite clear why, in view of their background, their heritage, and their choices, the Haitian people have never realized either democracy or economic progress. It is surprising, therefore, to find the view suggested in a concluding chapter that, were it not for the selfish opposition of the Haitian elite to a "thorough-going social revolution", it would be possible to educate the peasants and otherwise improve their lot. The question thus raised is of far-reaching importance at this time, when "social justice" appears to be widely accepted in the democracies as the keystone of the postwar world structure. Haiti, like other and larger areas of the earth, is overpopulated; its resources and opportunities are severely limited; and, barring a miracle, it can gain the requirements of political, economic, and cultural progress only to the extent that it

is assisted and in effect subsidized by a more prosperous nation. It is difficult to see how in any other way Haiti can be blessed with the four freedoms. A "social revolution", originated and directed by Haitians, would be useless and might be horrible.

In order to make his discussion intelligible to the layman, Professor Leyburn wisely decided to avoid the use of technical sociological terms. Detailed documentation has also been dispensed with. At points precision of statement is lacking. In spite of an arrangement of material that strikes this reviewer as utterly illogical, the book is for the most part readable and interesting. The study is neither exhaustive nor definitive, and in the final chapter, a "Sociological Postscript", the author points to the many opportunities that Haiti presents for further research. A critical bibliography is a helpful feature of the book.

Brookings Institution.

A. C. MILLSPAUGH.

The Development of Hispanic America. By A. CURTIS WILGUS, Associate Professor of Hispanic American History, the George Washington University. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1941. Pp. xviii, 941. \$4.75.)

PROFESSOR Wilgus's new textbook contains some novel or otherwise distinctive features. In the main, however, it follows the familiar pattern of textbooks in this field, notably in presenting the national period as a series of national histories of the twenty independent states of Latin America, with a separate section on the international relations of the region as a whole.

Among the distinctive features are an unusually strong emphasis on the national period as compared with the colonial period (505 and 310 pages, respectively), outlines of many of the national constitutions, more than a hundred maps, numerous footnote references to periodical literature, a fifty-five-page bibliographical essay, and a very high relative density of factual information in proportion to exposition and interpretation. All these features have important merits, but they are all susceptible of considerable improvement in subsequent editions. The severely factual character of the book makes it more useful as a work of reference than as a text. Many of the outlines of constitutions are gathered together in an appendix, but many others are scattered through the text and footnotes, where it is neither easy to find nor convenient to consult them. The maps are generally good, within the limitations of scale, but some of them do not incorporate the latest available information (*e.g.*, "The Pan-American Highway project", p. 752; "United States radio and Hispanic America", p. 784; and "Hispanic American air connections", p. 808). By confining the footnote citations to periodical literature, the author has focused the reader's attention on accounts that are in many cases only second-best, for the best are frequently contained in books, which are relegated to the long and uncritical lists of readings at the end

of each chapter. The long bibliographical essay does not remedy this defect, and although it contains a great deal of valuable information, a briefer, selective bibliography would probably be more useful to most students.

The text is likely to appeal most strongly to students of the political and diplomatic history of Latin America. On these topics it brings together in convenient form a larger body of detailed and, in most cases, up-to-date information than can be found in any other book of its kind. In the selection and presentation of data, however, it is less satisfactory. For example, in the section on economic conditions in Spanish America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the highly important topic of mining is dismissed in a paragraph of nine lines which deals with only the legal aspects of the question; the origins of the Monroe Doctrine are discussed, but not its early reception in Latin America; and while there is a brief reference to the recent revival of "native artistic traditions in art", the reviewer has been unable to find any general account of the important Indianist movement.

On the whole, this book represents a commendable effort to unfold before the college student as much of the vast panorama of Latin-American history as can be compressed within the covers of a single volume, to focus his attention on those parts of the scene that will enable him to understand the present situation in Latin America, and to lead him as far as possible through the maze of its bibliography. These are all important objectives, and if the present book has not attained them, it has at least made a good start in the right direction.

University of Pennsylvania.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

Mexico: A Century of Educational Thought. By IRMA WILSON. (New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States. 1941. Pp. 376. \$3.50.)

Mexico's School-made Society. By GEORGE C. BOOTH. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1941. Pp. xi, 175. \$2.50.)

OUTSIDE of Sánchez's *Mexico: A Revolution by Education* (1936), Watson's *Education and Social Welfare in Mexico* (1940), Cook's *The House of the People* (1932), Barranco's *Mexico: Its Educational Problems* (1915), and several scattered articles, there is little in English on Mexican education and certainly less on Mexican educational history. Consequently, Miss Wilson's doctoral dissertation, completed at Columbia, fulfills a noticeable need.

Miss Wilson opens with a chapter on education in Nueva España. The high level of cultural awakening which came with the work of José Ignacio Bartolache, José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez, and José Mociño was not sustained in the nineteenth century. It remained for a fourth José, Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, to start the educational-philosophical ball rolling. Lizardi's *El periquillo sarniento* (1816), the first true novel to be published in Nueva España, contained his educational theory. There is a definite similarity between the ideas of the *pensador mexicano* and those of Rous-

seau, down to the wide contrast between the education of boys and girls. The author does not, however, investigate the Roussellian influence.

Lizardi's *siglo de oro* began in 1811 and continued until his death in 1872. Between these dates Mexico underwent a transformation. The Mexican struggle for independence from Spain almost coincided with the dates of Lizardi's literary productivity. Liberalism, which attained its height in the educational reform of 1833, was later increasingly opposed by the clerical faction.

Then came the Reform, motivated by the "American invasion". This was the time of "the triumvirate of thinkers influential in Mexican ideology"—Ignacio Ramírez (1818-79), the "apostle of the Reform", who popularized, rather than originated, new educational ideas; Gabino Barreda (1824-81), who introduced Positivism and rehabilitated secondary education; and Justo Sierra (1848-1912), who founded the National University in 1910. With the work and ideas of Sierra Miss Wilson closes her study.

The twenty-five-page bibliography and index are excellent. The citations are very numerous and in the original Spanish. Chapter summaries and a concluding chapter would have been highly desirable. Likewise lacking is any real reference to Mexican-American relationships in educational philosophy. Incidental parallels are made, however, with European educational works. In general, the book is packed with facts to the detriment of interest.

Booth's book offers the philosophy and practice of socialist education in Mexico. The Mexicans conceive of the school, the teacher, and the child as instruments of social change. They are seeking to emancipate themselves from church superstition and economic slavery. Toward that end the school curriculum, art, music, dancing, and the rural cultural missions are utilized. Booth's implied optimism regarding the future of Mexican liberal education is challenged by the announcement of the conservative reorganization of Mexican schools (*New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1941).

The study is based on Mexican sources, conferences with officials, school visitation, and "historical works". The citations, however, are overwhelmingly from secondary sources. The little of history that is given is contemporary. There are Spanish quotations, excellent photographs, music specimens, a serviceable Mexican glossary, a few mechanical errors in citation, no index, and no special bibliography.

Interestingly presented, the volume is a worthwhile addition to the literature of contemporary Mexican education. Its author is sympathetic and rarely critical.

New York University.

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Studies in the History of Science. By E. A. SPEISER, OTTO E. NEUGEBAUER, HERMANN RANKE, HENRY E. SIGERIST, RICHARD H. SHRYOCK, EVARTS A. GRAHAM, EDGAR A. SINGER, HERMANN WEYL. [University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941, pp. 123. \$1.50.) This little volume represents a group of papers by very eminent scientists presented at the Bicentennial Conference of the University of Pennsylvania. In this brief review only certain thought-provoking presentations may be noted. Thus, Professor Speiser's paper on "Ancient Mesopotamia and the Beginnings of Science" presents interesting evidence of the clear beginnings of scientific thinking in Mesopotamia as early as 3500 B.C. and puts forward the proposition that this very early stirring of scientific thought came about as the result of a democratic form of government. Professor Neugebauer's scholarly presentation, "Some Fundamental Concepts of Ancient Astronomy", treats of the Egyptian interest in the establishment of the "Length of the Days" as early as 2000 B.C. There are four interesting papers on the history of medicine and surgery. Professor Ranke discusses the written evidence of medical knowledge as gleaned from the Papyrus Ebers and the Papyrus Edwin Smith of the seventeenth century B.C. Of these the latter is the more instructive since it deals with clinical cases and develops methods of examination as well as treatment. The papers by Professor Sigerist, "Medieval Medicine", and Professor Shryock, "The Rise of Modern Scientific Medicine", show great grasp of their fields. Professor Sigerist particularly points out the profound effect of Greek medical thinking upon Roman medicine and thus its controlling influence throughout the Middle Ages. One notes with interest that Professor Shryock, whose field is American history, pleads for a broader view of the beginnings of modern scientific medicine. It has been the modern habit to date scientific medicine from the period of Pasteur and Koch. Shryock suggests that such figures as Morgagni and Bichat did epoch-making work and that we might well date modern medicine back to at least 1750. The modern view is fully stated by Professor Graham in "Two Centuries of Surgery". I am inclined to think that Professor Shryock has made a good case.

HUGH CABOT.

War as a Social Institution: The Historian's Perspective. Edited for the American Historical Association by JESSE D. CLARKSON and THOMAS C. COCHRAN. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. xvii, 333. \$3.50.) When twenty-six papers by different authors treat the most diverse topics, from inhibitions, frustration of wishes, Trobrianders, Colbert's trade policy, Geopolitik, up to the role of railways in the wars of 1859, 1866, 1870, or the standard of living of Russian workers in 1907-16, and so on; when all this is crammed into one volume of some 350 pages, the result is usual: a little bit of this and a little piece of that, but on the whole neither a systematic treatment of war as a social institution nor a serious analysis of any aspect of war. The volume represents a mere congeries of mutually unrelated papers, each treating its topic briefly and therefore inadequately. As soon as the reader has become interested in a topic, the paper is ended, and he has to move to another—and quite different—topic.

As is always the case with such collections, separate papers are of varying value. Some are perfectly empty and on the level of most of the elementary texts in the social sciences; others are better; and a few are interesting and valuable. All in all, however, a person desirous of knowing something about war has to turn to other—systematic—works on either the psychology of war, history of war, anthropology of war, or war as a social institution. In the present pot-pourri volume he can hardly acquire a real knowledge of any of the important aspects of war.

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN.

On Methodology in the Philosophy of History. By PHILIP P. WIENER. (New York, the author, care of City College, 1941, pp. 15, 25 cents.)

The Classification of Religions: Its Relation to the History of Religions. By FRED LOUIS PARRISH. (Manhattan, the author, Kansas State College, 1941, pp. vii, 157, \$1.00.)

The Growth of the Christian Church. By ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS. Second edition. (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1941, pp. 398, \$2.00.)

The Christian Calendar and the Gregorian Reform. By PETER ARCHER, S. J., Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y. (New York, Fordham University Press, 1941, pp. xi, 124, \$3.50.) This helpful handbook will be welcomed by all who need to determine exact dates and by those who delight in mathematical puzzles. The author not only gives an array of tables and illustrations helpful as devices and aids for instruction, but he presents these with an order and clarity that should attract those baffled by the slightest problem of computation. Also he very wisely explains how many controversies in calendar history arose and something of the way in which discrepancies concerning the reckoning of time were settled. In one place he writes: "The church regards such discrepancy with perfect equanimity, because . . . she cares more for peace and uniformity than she does for the equinox and the new moon." Since most of us, too, prefer blissful tranquillity and ease, we read with interest, accept unchecked, and use with assurance the many facts and formulas the author so generously provides.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius). By OTAKAR ODLOŽILÍK. In commemoration of the 350th anniversary of Comenius' birthday. (Chicago, Czechoslovak National Council of America, 1942, pp. 34.)

World History. By CARLTON J. H. HAYES and others. Revised edition. (New York, Macmillan, 1941, pp. 935, \$2.56.)

Modern History. By CARLTON J. H. HAYES and PARKER THOMAS MOON. Fourth edition. (New York, Macmillan, 1941, pp. 989, \$2.56.)

Growth of European Civilization. By PRESTON SLOSSON. Second edition. (New York, Crofts, 1941, pp. 638, \$6.00, text edition \$4.50.)

On Social Freedom. By JOHN STUART MILL. Reprinted from the *Oxford and Cambridge Review*, June, 1907. With an Introduction by DOROTHY FOSDICK. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. 69, \$1.00.)

Mechanization and Culture: The Social and Cultural Implications of a Mechanized Society. By WALTER JOHN MARX. (St. Louis, B. Herder, 1941, pp. 250, \$2.00.)

That they may have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut, 1866-1941. By STEPHEN B. L. PENROSE, JR. (New York, Trustees of the American University of Beirut; sales agent, Princeton University Press, 1941, pp. xviii, 347, \$3.75.) This detailed and documented story of a great institution, perhaps

the best of such institutions in the entire Near and Middle East, deserved to be told, and to Dr. Penrose (a former faculty member) goes the credit for performing that task eminently well. From the beginning in 1866 as the Syrian Protestant College to 1920 the story of the institution is properly and inextricably interwoven with the lives of its founders, men whose arduous but unrelenting labors deserved crowning success in any age. In 1920 the college became the university, and its story as such is also interspersed with the life histories of its faithful faculty members, the true torchbearers of a new Western learning in the old Near East. There are, indeed, brief but valuable biographical sketches of such "founding fathers" as Daniel Bliss, George E. Post, and Cornelius V. A. van Dyck, all zealous missionary giants of the "Great Century". The several appendixes contain the charter, the Enabling Act, the names of all faculty members, and also those on the board of trustees. The book is illustrated, and there is a useful index.

A. O. SARKISSIAN.

American Opinion of Soviet Russia. By MENO LOVENSTEIN. Introduction by Broadus Mitchell. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, pp. 210, cloth \$3.25, paper \$2.75.) With great industry and discrimination Dr. Lovenstein has gone through mountains of newspapers, periodicals, books, and even professional periodicals and summarized, excerpted, and classified by periods between 1917 and 1933 American opinions of all shades on the changing scene in Russia. In those opinions he finds that the changing scene in the United States is quite as significant a factor as the shifts in Russian policy. Not until the United States itself became an "economic vacuum", to use Mr. Hoover's description of Russia in the twenties, was the U. S. S. R. recognized diplomatically.

Centralized vs. Decentralized Government in Relation to Democracy: Review of the Arguments advanced in the Literature of Various Nations. By PAUL STUDENSKI, Professor of Economics, New York University, and PAUL R. MORT, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941, pp. vii, 69, 75 cents.) This study was begun eight years ago with the purpose of appraising the alleged advantages of local control over education. In its final and more comprehensive form it surveys broadly a problem of government that affects many phases of the democratic process. The authors have adhered to the original method of investigation, giving excerpts from the testimony of a cloud of witnesses, mostly American and English. They have arranged the material under four headings: the respective merits of well-conceived systems of local and central control; the disadvantages of excess in both directions. Thus, it appears that excessive decentralization may involve half a dozen serious abuses—among them parochialism and waste. The design is most commendable; the execution, somewhat less so. Perhaps the authors leaned too heavily upon amateur assistants, such as those provided by W.P.A. The scientific apparatus bogs down; occasionally "significant research" becomes haphazard and careless compilation. Opinions seem to possess equal validity irrespective of their source; there is a failure to discriminate between the Testament and the Apocrypha, between originals and imitations, between producers and retailers. Lack of acquaintance with the British literature on devolution and the French literature of regionalism must explain some strange omissions. Citations give wrong pages and wrong dates, even wrong authors and wrong titles. To G. D. H. Cole is attributed a book which he did not write; to W. W. Willoughby, a passage from Mill. Most of the numerous quotations reveal inac-

curacy, sometimes to the point of including extraneous sentences. Teachers College sponsors the publication. May we assume that, in its august halls, the progressives have triumphed once again over tradition and set free the human spirit to soar above scholarly formalism? How else shall we explain the dropping of acute accents from French words and the occasional substitution of "z" for "s"?

EDWARD MCCHESENEY SAIT.

International Law Situations with Solutions and Notes, 1939. [Naval War College.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1940, pp. vii, 162, 50 cents.) The problems dealt with relate primarily to the law of neutrality. The question is raised whether the general expansion of government control over business affects the traditional distinction between neutral duties relative to states and their nationals and, if it does, what is the effect on the rule of immunity for state property. It is stated that "according to the principles of traditional neutrality, every extension of government into the realm of finance, trade, and business should mean a duty not to permit the sale or transfer of the articles or commodities under such public control to a belligerent power. Logically, under such a doctrine, a completely socialist State like Soviet Russia today could sell nothing and could permit the export of no products to States engaged in a war in which Russia was neutral. The law on this subject, however, has not clearly crystallized to date." Other questions discussed relate to qualified neutrality of the United States in relation to Latin America, neutrality and vessels in distress, commercial submarines and neutrality, contiguous zones (with special reference to the Declaration of Panama [1939]), and military aircraft in neutral territory. The series is continued by Professor Payson Sibley Wild, jr. The pattern of presentation is the same as in earlier years.

WILLARD BUNCE COWLES.

Essays on Antisemitism. Edited by KOPPEL S. PINSON, Assistant Professor of History, Queens College. [Jewish Social Studies Publications, No. 2.] (New York, Conference on Jewish Relations, 1942, pp. xi, 202, \$2.00.) Most of the chapters in this volume derive from papers read at a conference on the subject held in 1935. They are supplemented by others written for the volume. Dr. Pinson has done excellent editorial work. The eleven essays are grouped under two rubrics: historical and regional studies and analytical studies. Of the essays in Part I five are essentially historical, from Roman times to the Jew and Islam. Only two are regional and deal briefly with anti-Semitism in Poland and Russia. In Part II an essay by Weinryb follows the social and economic approach to anti-Semitism, and a companion essay by Wechsler deals with psychological factors. All the essays are but introductions in readable form to the topics they treat. Their tone is admirable in its passionless objectivity even to the last one, where the late Dr. Diesendruck probes for an answer to what anti-Semitism does to the psyche of the Jew himself. There are only a few references for the volume was not meant for specialists. The latter, if interested in anti-Semitism, will turn to the article in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* with its inclusive bibliography.

The American Jewish Year Book. Volume 43, 5702, September 22, 1941, to September 11, 1942. Edited by HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN for the American Jewish Committee. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1941, pp. xli, 884, \$3.00.) No student of current American and European affairs should be unfamiliar with this very complete compendium of Jewish statistics, bibliography of Jewish writings, necrology of prominent Jewish leaders, and review of recent history with special reference to the status and problems of the Jewish people

in the chief countries of the world. The review of the problems and activities of the Jews in the United States makes a brave showing of civic and philanthropic activities by a group among whom one can count some of our most public-spirited citizens. The account of anti-Semitic agencies and agitation makes dreary reading for any devoted and understanding supporter of a democracy. The depression is lightened but not wholly exorcised by the section, "Movements for Better Understanding".

The War: Second Year. By EDGAR McINNIS, Associate Professor of History, University of Toronto, Visiting Professor at Bowdoin College. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1941, pp. ix, 318, \$2.00.) Much of this book covers a dreary series of masterly retreats. *The War: First Year* was good (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI, 697); this is better, with a more skillful treatment of the home front, as befits an account of total war. A good sense of strategy, especially in the discussion of the Libyan and African campaigns, makes the narrative much more than a fabric of communiqués. The author frequently ventures well-argued conclusions. For example: "A firm neutrality [for Yugoslavia] would in many respects have been much more desirable" for the Allies. I can see little advantage or logic in dividing the book by periods of three months, except that these volumes appear originally in four separate parts under the sponsorship of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. The spreading battle fronts of the "third year" will make this chapter arrangement even less satisfactory.

RICHARD H. HEINDEL.

Vanguard of Victory: A Short Review of the South African Victories in East Africa, 1940-1941. By CONRAD NORTON and UYS KRIGE. Issued by the Bureau of Information. (Pretoria, Government Printer, 1941, pp. 54, 6d.) This pamphlet from the government printing office of the Union of South Africa, with its map, illustrations, and well-written account of the campaigns in Italian East Africa (Ethiopia), is well worth attention as a contemporary contribution to the history of the present war. The text is by official war correspondents who accompanied the South African invading forces.

Conference on Canadian-American Affairs, held at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, June 23-26, 1941, under the joint Auspices of Queen's University, the St. Lawrence University, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Proceedings. Edited by REGINALD G. TROTTER and ALBERT B. COREY. (Toronto, published for the Conference by Ginn, 1941, pp. xiii, 287, for gratuitous private circulation.) This report of the third of a series of conferences is the record of four days of papers and discussions by some two hundred invited delegates. The group included such leaders as Dr. Shotwell, Thomas J. Watson, Hugh Wilson, Calvin Hoover, John W. Dafoe, Mr. Berle of the State Department, and Malcolm MacDonald, Britain's high commissioner to Canada. The emphasis at previous meetings had been largely economic, and much was said in that area this time. But as the world was traveling under formidable omens, there was much discussion of political and military relations. Canada's role as mediator between the United States and the British Commonwealth was expressed again and again. There was no lack of urgency on the part of several speakers that the United States should take a more direct part in the war that had already begun. Professor Earle comforted the Canadians by stating that the United States could not "pretend much longer to wage a war of limited liability". As John W. Dafoe put it, the earlier conferences were, in a sense, academic: "Now we are faced with reality." On the whole, there was little real divergence of opinion expressed, partly out of deference, doubtless, to the intimate way the

war was touching many who were present. The fully reported addresses and discussions will serve as an excellent registration of views and wishes in Canadian-American relations at a time when the climate of opinion was rapidly changing.

HOWARD ROBINSON.

Radio goes to War: The "Fourth Front". By CHARLES J. ROLO. Introduction by Johannes Steel. (New York, Putnam, 1940, 1942, pp. 311, \$2.75.)

The End of an Era: Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. By ISAAC LEON KANDEL. (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1941, pp. 411, \$3.70.) "A summary of the characteristics of educational thought and practice in the era which has come to an end with the present war".

Guide to Libraries and Archives in Central America and the West Indies, Panama, Bermuda, and British Guiana. By ARTHUR E. GROPP. (New Orleans, Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, 1941, pp. 721, \$5.00.)

Ethnographic Bibliography of North America. By GEORGE PETER MURDOCK. [Yale Anthropological Studies, Volume I.] (New Haven, published for the Department of Anthropology, Yale University, by the Yale University Press, 1941, pp. xvi, 168, \$2.00.)

Descriptive Catalog of Maps published by Congress, 1817-1843. Compiled by MARTIN P. CLAUSSEN and HERMAN R. FRIIS. (Washington, the authors, Box 4672, 1941, pp. xiii, 104, \$1.25.)

ARTICLES

EUGENE C. BARKER. Three Types of Historical Interpretation. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Apr.

CARTER V. GOOD. Some Problems of Historical Criticism and Historical Writing. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Apr.

W. H. WALSH. The Intelligibility of History. *Philosophy*, Apr.

LYNN WHITE, JR. Christian Myth and Christian History. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES. The Church and Nationalism—A Plea for Further Study of a Major Issue. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Apr.

MICHAEL LEWIS. Armada Guns: A Comparative Study of English and Spanish Armaments. *Mariner's Mirror*, Jan.

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ASA EARL MARTIN. The Beginnings of Japanese-American Relations. *Social Stud.*, Apr.

RICHARD H. HEINDEL. American Influence on Japan. *Ibid.*, May.

ZOZA SZAJKOWSKI. The Alliance Israélite Universelle and East-European Jewry in the '60s. *Jewish Social Stud.*, Apr.

GEORGE F. DEASY. Spanish Territorial Boundary Changes in Northwest Africa. *Geograph. Rev.*, Apr.

E. J. KNAPTON. The Duel for Central Europe: Some Aspects of French Diplomacy, 1938-1939. *Jour. Central Europ. Affairs*, Apr.

OTAKAR ODLOŽILÍK. Clio in Chains: Czech Historiography in 1939-1940. *Slavonic Year-Book*, 1941.

DINKO TOMAŠIĆ. Croatia in European Politics. *Jour. Central Europ. Affairs*, Apr.

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ. Fiume: Nationalism versus Economics. *Ibid.*

WALDEMAR KAEMPFERT. Science, Technology, and War. *Yale Rev.*, Mar.

CARL BECKER. Making Democracy Safe in the World. *Ibid.*

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ. War Aims and Peace Proposals. *South Atlantic Quar.*, Jan.

RICHARD H. TAWNEY. The Crisis of Western Civilization. *Social Educ.*, Apr.

CRANE BRINTON. The Historian and the Present Conflict of Ideas. *Am. Oxonian*, Apr.

DOCUMENTS

BENJAMIN SCHWARTZ. The Burgess Persian Letters. *Bull. New York Public Library*, Feb., Apr.

ANCIENT HISTORY¹

T. R. S. Broughton

A Short History of Ancient Civilization. By TOM B. JONES, Assistant Professor of History, University of Minnesota. [Harper's Historical Series, under the Editorship of Guy Stanton Ford.] (New York, Harper, 1941, pp. xiii, 378, \$2.25.) The reviewer finds this recent book a most interesting brief account, designed primarily for students pursuing survey courses in general history who wish to spend only part of a year in the study of ancient civilization. It will appeal also to the general reader who desires a historical background for a better understanding of later culture. The introductory chapter, on "The Origin and Rise of Civilization", is especially well organized for the interpretation of subsequent world movements of a social and political character. The division of the chapter into Primitive Culture, the Age of Agriculture, and the Age of Civilization is logical and well substantiated. It is unfortunate, however, that the author has apparently attributed the survival of prehuman man to the supposition that he proved to be an unsatisfactory meal for the carnivores, instead of giving some credit to his agility. The treatment of Greece and Rome is adequate and satisfactory for a book of less than four hundred pages. The reviewer's only regret is that more attention was not given to the contribution of the Greeks and Romans to later civilization, such as one finds in Trever's *History of Ancient Civilization*. The chapters devoted to Greece and Rome are well illustrated with maps and charts, and the subject matter is presented in a clear and thought-provoking manner. The final chapter, on the decline of ancient civilization, which implies of course the breakdown of the Roman Empire, takes up a difficult problem. Professor Jones's solution of this problem is a fitting conclusion of a very helpful handbook on ancient civilization, which should find a ready place in any classroom or study. The little volume has been well edited. The few errors that appear from a casual reading are misprints easily corrected in a later edition.

HOMER E. ROBBINS.

A Tarsus Coin Collection in the Adana Museum. By D. H. COX. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1941, pp. 67, plates XII, \$2.00.)

Gold and Silver Coin Standards in the Roman Empire. By LOUIS C. WEST. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs.] (*Ibid.*, pp. 199, \$1.50.) The first monograph is the publication of the ancient coins in a collection presented to the Adana museum by Miss Hetty Goldman. Most of these coins were found in the vicinity of Tarsus. Those selected for publication are mostly of Hellenistic and Roman imperial vintage. Several of the coins which represent the output of provincial mints of the imperial era are extremely interesting, especially the coins of Tyana which are discussed in pages 58-62. The second monograph is a consideration of Roman gold and silver coin standards in the period from Augustus to Diocletian. West first takes up the matter of the weights of gold coins in imperial times. His study of a vast amount of material confirms previous opinion that Augustus struck gold aurei at 40-42 to the pound, and that Nero reduced aurei to 45 to the pound. After Nero's time, down to Macrinus, this weight was maintained with few exceptions. Next, West considers the ratio of gold to silver. He finds that the Augustan ratio was 1: 11.97; the Neronian

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

(theoretical), 1: 11.72. The Neronian ratio, for the most part, continued down to 215. These sections are then followed by detailed studies of the coinage of the individual emperors. West's monograph is likely to prove one of the most useful in this particular series. True, his treatment of the third century is not completely satisfactory, but this is the fault of his evidence, which, like most evidence for the third century, leaves much to be desired. On the other hand, in dealing with the earlier period one might wish that he had actually come to grips with certain problems, especially in the case of the manipulations of the currency by Nero, Domitian, Trajan, and Caracalla. TOM B. JONES.

The Excavation of a Roman Temple at Corinth. By SARAH ELIZABETH FREEMAN. [Extracted from *Corinth, Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Volume I, Part II.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1941, pp. 166-236.) This excellent account of Temple E forms one chapter of the volume which also contains "The Peribolos of Apollo", "The Façade of the Colossal Figures", "The Northwest Stoa and Shops", and "Temple C and the Sanctuary of Hera Akraia". Temple E is situated about fifty meters south of the Fountain of Glauke and not far from the great staircase which leads up from the lower level of the Roman market. There are two building periods. Of the earlier poros temple, built about the middle of the first century, there remain only the foundation and possibly a few pieces of the superstructure among blocks later re-used. The marble temple built at the end of the century belongs to the great rebuilding program undertaken because of the injury to many buildings presumably by an earthquake. The remains include the podium of opus incertum, sections of Corinthian columns and of the entablature, and also parts of marble figures of the pediment and acroteria. The temple can be restored fairly accurately as hexastyle with twelve columns on the sides. The author identifies it as the Capitolium mentioned by Pausanias, though the possibility still remains that it may be the Temple of Octavia, located, Pausanias tells us, above the market place. Splendid illustrations in the article, indeed, in the whole volume, present a vivid picture of the architecture and sculpture of this flourishing Roman city. Plates are contained in a separate portfolio. It is a pity that for the convenience of readers a sketch map showing the relative positions of buildings does not accompany the discussion of the identification of the structures. CLARK HOPKINS.

The Sacred Gerusia. By JAMES H. OLIVER. [The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, Hesperia, Supplement VI.] (Princeton, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1941, pp. xi, 204, \$5.00.) Twelve fragments of inscriptions relating to the Sacred Gerusia of Athens were found during the recent excavations in the Agora. The application of the methods of "architectural epigraphy" so brilliantly used by B. D. Meritt has made it possible for the author to reconstruct large parts of two important inscriptions and to make additions to several others. Using this new evidence, Dr. Oliver has collected in his monograph all the inscriptions (sixty-three in number) which pertain to Gerusiae and has thoroughly reviewed and revised the historical treatment of the subject. The author's thesis, briefly, is this: the Sacred Gerusia of Athens and of some other places in the Greek world was founded by Marcus Aurelius and encouraged by Commodus as a municipal corporation, particularly interested in religious festivals and the apparatus of the imperial cult. It had charge of estates and of other financial interests, probably in connection with the celebration of festivals. The prototype of this Gerusia was that of Hellenistic Ephesus: under Lysimachus the existing social type of Gerusia was altered by

the addition of partisans of Lysimachus and given economic control over the Artemisium. As early as Hadrian, the Roman government recognized the importance of revitalizing Greek and Roman religion; the increased splendor of native festivals and of the imperial cult was made possible by the assignment of imperial estates to the Sacred Gerusiae, who were to refer financial matters to the imperial procurator. That the evidence is neither complete nor absolutely convincing Dr. Oliver freely admits. Nevertheless, his monograph is certainly at present the authoritative document on the subject and is, on the whole, a model of scholarly industry, erudition, and presentation. A few minor faults of documentation and proofreading add spice to the reviewer's task.

EDWARD F. D'ARMES.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Gray C. Boyce

Benedictine Monasticism as reflected in the Warnefrid-Hildemar Commentaries on the Rule. By Sister M. ALFRED SCHROLL, Mt. St. Scholastica College, Atchison, Kansas. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. 217, \$2.75.) This is a competent, useful piece of work. Sister Alfred's study of the ninth century commentaries on the Benedictine Rule changes the picture generally held of Carolingian monasticism. It is now clear that far from instituting far-reaching reforms, Benedict of Aniane and Louis the Pious only set down in general legislation conditions described almost half a century before by Paul Warnefrid and repeated less fully by subsequent commentators. Other less important questions which have risen to vex historians of monasticism, such as the irrevocability of the monastic vow of an oblate made by proxy, are clarified by exposition in the commentaries. It is clear that Sister Alfred viewed as her main task the general description of Carolingian monasticism as found in the commentaries. With this view I can have no possible quarrel. My only query is whether she has not, by so organizing her material along topical lines, obscured the significance of what she has done. A comparison of the Capitulary of 817 and the conditions set forth by Warnefrid would have pointed up the importance of what she has had to say. If such a comparison had no place in the body of her thesis, then perhaps an appendix, briefly elaborating the point, might have been added.

HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN.

Texts and Studies. Volume I, *Rashi Anniversary Volume.* (New York, American Academy for Jewish Research, 1941, pp. 248, \$3.00.) This volume is devoted to essays on Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes, France, the nine hundredth anniversary of whose birth was celebrated in 1940.

Fulcher of Chartres: Chronicle of the First Crusade (Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana). Translated by MARTHA EVELYN MCGINTY. [Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History, Third Series, edited by John L. LaMonte, Volume I.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941, pp. x, 90, \$1.00.) The publication of this little volume marks an event, the revival of the Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History, begun in 1894 by Dana C. Munro, Edward P. Cheyney, J. H. Robinson, and other members of the history department of the University of Pennsylvania. The great usefulness of that series to both students and teachers has long since exhausted the editions which it issued. Even the second series has now practically gone out of print. With this volume a third series is promised under the enthusiastic and able editorship of Professor John LaMonte. The present

volume is a translation of the first of three books which compose the Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and deals with the narrative of the First Crusade from the speech of Urban II at Clermont in 1095 to the death of Godfrey of Bouillon in 1100. Miss McGinty's excellent translation was made independently of that which the late Sister Frances Rita Ryan, C.S.J., made of the whole work (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1916). In addition to the translation Miss McGinty has supplied numerous annotations and a map which will be helpful to both student and teacher. Fulcher's Chronicle, as Miss McGinty has pointed out, is not only an original source but probably the most complete and interesting of all the original Latin sources for the history of the First Crusade. Teachers and students of medieval history will find the present volume convenient to both hand and purse, and the history department of the University of Pennsylvania deserves a vote of thanks for the continuance of this distinguished service to the profession. A. C. KREY.

Survivals in Old Norwegian of Medieval English, French, and German Literature, together with the Latin Versions of the Heroic Legend of Walter of Aquitaine. Translated by H. M. SMYSER and F. P. MAGOUN, JR. [Connecticut College Monograph No. 1.] (Baltimore, Waverly Press, 1941, pp. xi, 163, \$1.85.) If the title of this book is rather unwieldy, it is, at any rate, a good description of its contents. For the translators have chosen to translate such parts from the *Karlamagnús saga ok þessa hans, Strengleikar*, and *Þiðriks saga*, as are undoubtedly translations from Middle English, Old French, and Old German sources which, however, have been lost entirely. Students of these literatures will be glad to have these pieces here available, especially so since, as far as I know, this is the first translation of any of this material into English. For the benefit of the medievalist the list of source material is given. From *Karlamagnús saga* we get the stories of Landres and William Short Nose. From *Strengleikar*, the Breton Lays of Marie de France and others unknown, we are given the Foreword (*Forræða*), the Lays of Gurun (*Gurunsljóð*) and of the Beach of Barfleur (*Strandarljóð*), and Ricar the Old (*Ricar hinn gamli*). From *Þiðriks saga* are translated the Foreword, Wayland the Smith, Walter and Hildigund, the Story of the Niflungs, and Hildebrand and Alebrand. Then there are a complete translation of the Old High German Latin poem *Waltharius*, a translation of a Polish-Latin poem on the same subject (*Walterus Robustus, Comes Tynecensis*), and, for good measure, a translation of *Waltharius Monachus Novaliciensis*, which poem, as the editors tell us, really does not belong to the cycle of Walter of Aquitaine at all. Each of these stories is prefaced by the editors with a short orientation, clear and concise, with valuable literary references. There are some errors in translation in selections sampled, but the frequency is not high in material that is rather elusive even to a native Icelandic. In general the translations into English idiom are faithful to the originals—no mean achievement. The book is thus decidedly a gain to all students of those legends and a credit to the translators. STEFÁN EINARSSON.

Saint Thomas and Analogy. By REV. GERALD BERNARD PHELAN. [Aquinas Lectures.] (Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1941, pp. 58, \$1.50.)

Ansätze zum geschichtlichen und politischen Denken im Kiewer Russland. By WERNER PHILIPP. [Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Beiheft 3.] (Breslau, Verlag Priebratschs Buchhandlung, 1940, pp. 106, 6 M.) This monograph is a *Habilitationsschrift* accepted by the Berlin faculty in 1940. It is a laborious and intelligent study of the sources and writings on the history of Kiev and its empire (Ukraine). The sources are chiefly the church chroniclers, in whose

writing Philipp seeks to find the rise and decline of a historical national consciousness. A special chapter is devoted to the writings of Serapion von Vladimir. The concluding chapters deal with the Ukrainian chroniclers' idea of the Russian Empire from the eleventh century to the fifteenth and their idea of a just ruler. Although the author, a sound but never illuminating scholar, has evidently made his peace with the Hitler regime, he does not skew the last topic into a medieval Ukrainian adumbration of the *Führerprinzip*. He fully recognizes that whatever they thought and said, and it was not very much or very articulate, it had inevitably a Byzantine coloring.

Records of the Barony and Honour of the Rape of Lewes. Edited by ARNOLD J. TAYLOR. [Sussex Record Society, Volume XLIV.] (Lewes, the Society, 1940, pp. xxiii, 99, 21s.) The documents in this small volume are interesting and important and are competently edited. They are chiefly the rolls of twelve courts held, 1265-66, in the honor and barony of the rape of Lewes, one of the early divisions of Sussex. They should be compared with the rolls of the Ramsey honor of Broughton, which are slightly earlier in date but in some ways less interesting. Such court records are very rare. They are important, clearly, in relation to feudal justice but should be examined also for possible influence on the development of common law. These particular records throw light on the interrelations of the courts of honors, hundreds, and manors, on the workings of the *decenna* system, on the nature of distresses and essoins, on the frequency of the meetings of the *dies amoris*, and many other matters. Most important of all, perhaps, as a contribution to legal history is their emphasis on the action of trespass. It has been suggested by modern legal historians that the debatable questions about the origins of this great form of action in the common-law courts would profit greatly by a study of its history in early seignorial courts, and these rolls furnish opportunities for such study, brief but fairly numerous. In addition the volume contains translations of the rolls of the Lewes Castle Court of a century later, account rolls of Lewes of the years 1400 and 1465, and various inquests *post mortem* and extents. All are valuable in their respective fields. The volume has a good index. N. NEILSON.

The Redentin Easter Play. Translated from the Low German of the Fifteenth Century with Introduction and Notes by A. E. ZUCKER. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. x, 134, \$2.00.) Mr. Zucker uses Froning's text but, following Krogmann, makes a number of changes in the distribution of the roles. Unfortunately he accepted Krogmann's emendations too implicitly. It is to be regretted that Mr. Zucker did not attempt in some manner to indicate in his translation the use of the pronouns of address in the original. It is significant, for example, from a cultural point of view that Pilate, the king, who cannot read, addresses his secretary with "gy", while the secretary, in turn, addresses him with "du". The translation itself is, on the whole, excellent and dependable, though isolated cases occur in which the accuracy might have been improved. For example, lines 1122-1145 enumerate a list of characters representing various walks in life. Mr. Zucker regarded this list as "more or less conventional" and so treated it rather superficially. As a consequence a number of mistranslations resulted. In fact Mr. Zucker says in one instance that he is consciously mistranslating. However, it would seem that here especially accuracy would have contributed immensely to the historical value of the translation, since the play, as Mr. Zucker himself points out, is important "both for its literary merits and for its value as a medieval cultural document". Nevertheless, Mr. Zucker's translation has distinct

merits and deserves decided recognition. The Low German text presents many textual and interpretative difficulties, and Mr. Zucker has mastered most of these in a very commendable fashion.

GEORGE F. LUSSKY.

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ART AND ARCHITECTURE

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

Life in Eighteenth Century England. By ROBERT J. ALLEN, Department of English, Williams College. [Illustrative Set No. 4, Museum Extension Publications.] (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1941, portfolio consisting of text of pp. 38, plates 42, \$5.20.) This portfolio is the fourth in a projected series on reconstructing the past by graphic reproductions representing the whole range of cultural history. The series may in the end include something like one hundred issues. The order of appearance "will depend on current trends in teaching and in world affairs". It is to be hoped that world affairs will not dictate the suspension of this intelligent and valuable contribution. The accompanying brief text by Professor Robert J. Allen of Williams College furnishes an interpretative commentary on the tastes, trends, and social life of eighteenth century England. His skill and knowledge of the literature and life of the day make it much more than a guide to a picture gallery.

Three Tours through London in the Years 1748, 1776, 1797. By WILMARTH SHELDON LEWIS. [The Colver Lectures, Brown University, 1941, Volume 21.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. xii, 135, \$2.50.) The material of this book consists of the Colver Lectures given at Brown University in 1941, with some additional details which, the author says, he could not resist "stuffing in". Considering the many elaborate studies of London and the social life of the English capital in the eighteenth century, a reader will not expect that very much of the ground will be covered in three lectures or that the lecturer will make any notable contribution to the vast fund of information already available on this subject. Mr. Lewis's contribution is of another kind. The value of his study consists mainly in skillful selection of details and a very ingenious device for making them real and vivid. These sight-seeing tours afford an excellent introduction to a large and fascinating subject. Probably because the author is fresh from editing Horace Walpole's letters, he shows greater familiarity with the second half of the century than with the first. For the year 1748 he would have done well, I think, to levy upon literature of a slightly earlier date—Gay's *Trivia* (1714) and Defoe's *Augusta Triumphans* (1728), to cite only two of many native sources—instead of quoting, for example, observations made by Archenholz in 1782. And if foreign comment is desired, it might be well to draw illustrations from Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Abbé Le Blanc. In the use of the writers who are quoted I have detected one error that is worth noting. Defoe is made to say that "an honest drunken fellow is a character in a man's praise" (p. 57). This is not Defoe's own opinion. It is a false notion cited for attack in *The Poor Man's Plea* (1698), which contains one of Defoe's most vigorous satires on fashionable drunkenness. On the whole, however, the survey is to be commended for accuracy as well as vividness of style. CECIL A. MOORE.

Bibliography of Irish History, 1870-1911. By JAMES CARTY, Assistant Librarian. [National Library of Ireland.] (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1940, pp. xviii, 319, 10s. 6d.) This is the second to appear in a series of volumes in which the

National Library of Ireland has undertaken to present a full bibliography of Irish history. The first, published in 1936 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 192), covered the period 1912-21, and the next, it is announced, will treat of that from 1801 to 1870. In general, the format of the former volume is followed in the present one, but there is no introduction. There are fifteen sections, topical in character, and they include not only the "constitutional and political questions" to which the first volume was restricted but also the economic and cultural life of the country. There is even a section on "Emigration and the Irish Abroad", although it appears to be the weakest in the book. In general, the high standard of the first volume is maintained. As a suggestion for the future, it might be pointed out that these volumes will be used extensively by students who have no knowledge of the Irish language and that, therefore, the insertion of English translations of titles and quotations in Irish might be made the rule and not the exception.

JAMES F. KENNEY.

The Writings of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt: An Introduction and Study. By SISTER MARY JOAN REINEHR. (Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1941, pp. 223. \$2.50, paper \$2.00.)

British Labour's Rise to Power: Eight Studies. By CARL F. BRAND. [The Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace.] (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1941, pp. xi, 305, \$3.50.) Before commenting on this book it is necessary to indicate the inaptness of its title. Except for the first chapter it deals solely with the period from 1914 to 1938. Even for this period it largely fails to live up to its title, since it examines only certain aspects of labor history and does not clearly relate these to a growth of power. Chapter I, on the first stirrings of political activity among British workers in the 1860's, is completely isolated from the rest of the discussion and would better have been omitted. This chapter and three others, together with small portions of chapters III and VI, have appeared as articles. Over half of the book is here published for the first time. The chapters after the first have unity, but not of the kind the title implies. They are excellent studies of British labor's attitude toward certain aspects of the war of 1914 and the peacemaking that followed and toward the postwar problems of the International and communism. The discussion is not exhaustive or profound, nor does it add much new information, but it is clear and sound. The book is useful, even valuable, because its mainly factual account manages to convey a sense of British labor's heart and mind. For these the reader acquires a deep respect.

FRANCES E. GILLESPIE.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

- État présent des travaux sur J.-J. Rousseau*. By ALBERT SCHINZ. [Études françaises.] (New York, Modern Language Association of America, 1941, pp. 421, apply.)
- A Catalog of the Napoleon Library of De Paul University*. Compiled by VIRGINIA BOYD GOULT. (Chicago, De Paul University, 1941, pp. 112, \$1.25.)
- Pierre Laval*. By HENRY TORRÈS. Translated by NORBERT GUTERMAN. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1941, pp. vi, 265, \$2.50.) Although Pierre Laval already enjoyed one of the most unenviable reputations in modern Europe, M. Torrès has gone out of his way further to darken it by one of the cruelist, most completely damning biographies that has ever come to the reviewer's attention. We were not surprised when M. Laval appeared in 1940 as the shifty, unscrupulous wirepuller, ready to jettison French democracy for a crumb from Hitler's table, but few of us indeed realized how utterly contemptible Pierre Laval really is—or, at least, is in M. Torrès's biography. If future research confirms only part of this picture of Laval as a man without honor, honesty, education, scruples, morals, principles, culture, or even personal cleanliness, he will have few rivals for the position of number one scoundrel of our times. Particularly interesting is M. Torrès's treatment of French foreign policy after 1933. He plays up Laval's failure to care properly for Barthou's brainchild, the Franco-Russian treaty of mutual assistance, but completely overlooks the major political forces that played around the pact. The historian will be amused, if not completely convinced, by the monologue that Goering *might* have spoken to our hero. At the same time he will wonder at the lacunae that would have been filled by information about the policy of England and all of France's Continental allies except Czechoslovakia. M. Torrès is undoubtedly right when he assumes that the Franco-Russian pact and the Franco-Italian entente were the turning points in the road that led from the proud position of France in 1930 to the humiliating days of the Munich crisis, but in his effort to convict Laval—who undoubtedly bears a share in the blame, if it is to be given—M. Torrès has failed to give a very clear picture of the forces involved in the debacle. JOHN B. WOLF.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

- Den svenska handelssjöfartens ekonomiska historia sedan Gustaf Vasa*. By ELI F. HECKSCHER. (Stockholm, Skrifter utg. av Sjöhistoriska Samfundet, 1941, 1.50 kr.)
- Nation and Family: The Swedish Experiment in Democratic Family and Population Policy*. By ALVA MYRDAL. (New York, Harper, 1941, pp. xv, 441, \$4.00.)

Norway revolts against the Nazis. By JAC. S. WORM-MÜLLER. (London, Lindsay Drummond, 1941, pp. 152, 5s.) This booklet dwells much upon the manner in which the home front was solidified against the Nazis and supplies a worthy complement to Koht's *Norway: Neutral and Invaded* and to Hambro's *I saw it happen in Norway*.

White Book of the Church of Norway. Edited by KURT D. SINGER. (New York, Pictorial Publishing Company, 19 West 44th Street, 1941, 50 cents.)

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

Ernst Posner

Aktenammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534. Volume IV, *Juli, 1529, bis September, 1530.* Edited by PAUL ROTH. (Basel, Verlag der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek, 1941, pp. 638, 21 fr.) The previous volume in this series of documents on the Reformation in Basel (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 115, XLIV, 706) covered the introduction of the Reformation in the great iconoclastic outburst of February, 1529. The present volume reveals the political consequences of that act. The expulsion of the cathedral chapter and the closing of monastic houses with sequestration of goods brought no end of difficulties over property rights, in which the emperor more than once interfered on behalf of the dispossessed. The voluntary withdrawal of individuals from continuing monastic establishments required a clearance of property claims. Vastly more disturbing was the threat of war from the Catholic cantons, for the span of this volume lies in the interlude between the two Kappel wars. Zurich, Basel, and Bern were then seeking to strengthen their position by alliances with Constance, Strasbourg, and Philip of Hesse. In the meantime the growth of Anabaptism threatened an internal disruption. Basel met the threat partly by repeated heresy trials and one execution of a relapsed Anabaptist and partly by an attempt to silence Anabaptist criticism by excluding the unworthy from the sacraments through the ban. At the same time pressure for attendance was applied to voluntary absentees, among them Hans Holbein and Boniface Amerbach.

ROLAND H. BAINTON.

The Potsdam Führer: Frederick William I, Father of Prussian Militarism. By ROBERT ERGANG. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. 290, \$3.00.) This is by far the best full account of the extraordinary king who has so long been overshadowed by his brilliant son, Frederick the Great. It makes thorough use of the wealth of documents which the diligent Germans have long been turning out. With careful scholarship and abundant quotations it paints in the detail of the picture of the Royal Drill Sergeant which has long been familiar from the sketches drawn by Macaulay and Carlyle. But the detail does not very essentially alter the impression of the sketches. The treatment is topical rather than chronological. There are chapters on Frederick William I as man, king, mercantilist, diplomatist, and father and accounts of the army, judicial

reform, the bureaucracy, and education and toleration. But like Macaulay and Carlyle, Mr. Ergang is more interested in the king's character, brutal ways, and mania for soldiers than in the institutional developments which centralized and strengthened the Prussian state in the first half of the eighteenth century. His biography is anecdotal rather than institutional. He gives more space to the king's hobby for the ephemeral "Potsdam Giants" than to the "General Directory", which was the fundamental central administrative board in Prussia for the next three quarters of a century. The tendency of the historian to interpret the past in accordance with the popular interest of the present is suggested by the book's title and by the introduction, which assembles quotations through two centuries on Prussian militarism. In his emphasis on Frederick William I as "the father of Prussian militarism" and as "the creator of Prussian mercantilism" the author somewhat minimizes the work of the Great Elector, who laid the foundations on which his grandson was so vehemently to build the superstructure. The book is, however, an interesting, scholarly, and authoritative addition to the gallery of Hohenzollern portraits, and there is a good bibliography.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

You can't do Business with Hitler. By DOUGLAS MILLER. (New York, Pocket Books, 1941, revised edition 1942, pp. 180, 25 cents.)

Hungary, Past and Present. Edited by JOSEPH SZENTKIRÁLYI. (New York, Hungarian Reference Library, 1941, pp. 133.)

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GÉRARD ALLY. Leibniz et l'Union des Églises. *Rev. Trimest. Can.*, Mar.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

E. H. Pritchard

The China of Chiang Kai-Shek: A Political Study. By PAUL M. A. LINEBARGER, Duke University. (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. xi, 449, cloth \$2.50, paper \$1.00.) In this work Mr. Linebarger presents an account of the present government of China, its structure and problems, in 281 pages of text and 158 pages of government documents, together with a glossary of Chinese terms and ideographs. The value of the book derives largely from the fact that it is a compact account in English of the government of China. The problems discussed are the constitution, the political organs of the Chinese government, the provincial, local, and special area governments, the Kuomintang. While the structure of the Chinese government is thus laid out, the special problems that emerge illustrate once again the difficulties of translating such stock terms as democracy, communism, and the like into a Chinese setting without making very careful reservations. Although the present government is a one-party government in principle and to some extent in practice, most competent observers are in agreement that it is not totalitarian. Chiang Kai-Shek, in discussing post-war problems to be faced with reference to the independent guerrilla bands now operating behind the Japanese lines, is reported to have said that he "did not fear the encroachments of the guerrilla groups, because he and they were all working for democracy". Why communism in China is not Russian communism, a one-party government is not a totalitarian government, and a Chinese democracy is a democracy though its forms are so greatly different from ours are understood by all who know China and made clearer by Mr. Linebarger's useful book.

R. D. JAMESON.

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- JOHN K. FAIRBANK. Tributary Trade and China's Relations with the West. *Far Eastern Quar.*, Feb.
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- HARRIET MOORE. Armed Neutrality in the Far East: Soviet-Japanese Relations in World War II. *Amerasia*, Mar.
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- GEORGE H. KERR. FORMOSA: Colonial Laboratory. *Far Eastern Survey*, Feb. 23.
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- VIRGINIA THOMPSON. Further India's Communications. *Far Eastern Survey*, Jan. 12.
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- O. H. K. SPATE and L. W. TRUEBLOOD. Rangoon: A Study in Urban Geography. *Geograph. Rev.*, Jan.
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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

Guide to the Material in the National Archives. [The National Archives, Publication No. 14.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1940, pp. xviii, 303, cloth 70 cents, paper 40 cents.) The present *Guide* covers the approximately 320,000 linear feet of records received by the National Archives through December 31, 1939, from the Senate, all of the executive departments, many independent agencies, and two Federal courts. Over 40 per cent of the total are from the War Department and the Veterans' Administration; but large quantities of records have also been received from the Interior, Treasury, Navy, and Agriculture departments and the emergency agencies of the first World War, and important groups from nearly all other large departments and agencies. In the main portion of the *Guide* brief but helpful sketches of the history and functions of each governmental unit precede the description of its records. The records themselves are described by "groups", which vary in inclusiveness from a single series to the entire body of records received from an agency. For each group the quantity and dates are shown, references are given to any existing finding media and often to related groups of records, and the contents and frequently the provenance are indicated in varying detail. Useful bibliographical references are appended to most of the introductory sketches and to some of the descriptions of records. Bodies of records that had not been given adequate study, somewhat less than half the total, are listed briefly in an appendix. An excellent introduction describes in detail the organization of the *Guide*, the finding media in the National Archives, and the services available to users of records.

Quarterly leaflets supplement the *Guide* with brief listings of recent accessions. The *Guide* makes no pretense at being a definitive or even reasonably full description of the holdings of the National Archives, but its exceeding usefulness must make scholars grateful that its publication was not deferred to the distant date when the almost inconceivably vast body of material in that institution will have been reduced to its final arrangement and subjected to definitive analysis and classification.

DAN LACY.

Bio-bibliographical Index of Musicians in the United States of America from Colonial Times. Prepared by the District of Columbia Historical Records Survey, Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration. [Music Series, No. 2.] (Washington, Music Division, Pan American Union, 1941, pp. xxiii, 439, \$1.00, mimeographed.)

American Manuscript Collections in the Huntington Library for the History of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Compiled by NORMA B. CUTHBERT. [Huntington Library Lists, No. 5.] (San Marino, the Library, 1941, pp. viii, 93, \$1.50.)

Historic American Buildings Survey: Catalog of the Measured Drawings and Photographs of the Survey in the Library of Congress, March 1, 1941. Compiled and edited by Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service. Second edition. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1941, pp. vii, 470, \$1.25.)

Treaties and Constitutional Law: Property Interferences and Due Process of Law. By WILLARD BUNCE COWLES. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, pp. xv, 315, cloth \$4.50, paper \$3.50.) "It is not unusual to find it asserted in the United States that treaties can override the Constitution. There is also a belief that no provision of a treaty has ever been held unconstitutional. The subject of this inquiry involves these questions in relation to one of the most fundamental constitutional prohibitions on the powers of the United States . . . this is not a study of the treaty-making power of the United States. The basic problem with which this inquiry is concerned is whether or not the due process and just compensation clauses of the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States are applicable to, and constitute limitations upon, the provisions of the international treaties of the United States, in their character as domestic law in the United States. This problem is as old as the Constitution itself and is of growing importance."

Voltaire in America, 1744-1800. By MARY-MARGARET H. BARR, Washington Square College of Arts and Science, New York University. [The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1941, pp. 150, \$1.25.) The role of the *philosophes* in hurrying the dissolution of the old regime in Europe and America is a familiar story. A number of students have traced the exchange of ideas between France and America in the eighteenth century, and while there have been exaggerated statements of the indebtedness of each to the other, there was indeed a close rapport between the rationalists in both countries. It is, of course, almost impossible to assay qualitatively the influence of the writings of the one upon the other, but a quantitative study, such as Dr. Barr's, can at least inform us about the reception accorded to authors. The first of Voltaire's works to be published in America was his commentary issued with Beccaria's "Essay on Crimes and Punishments", but long before, his histories, printed abroad, were distributed in the colonies by booksellers and libraries. The histories were his most popular works in America,

and, fortunately for his fame and influence, they were generally known before his philosophical writings were widely circulated. The latter were, in time, to awaken almost universal antagonism, but until then Voltaire was a powerful weapon in liberal hands. Interest in the French genius was greatest in the last decade of the century, but it was stimulated by a revulsion so widespread that nearly all of the articles on Voltaire in American periodicals were strongly hostile. Even so, such was his attraction for the American spirit that his plays continued to be popular with theatergoers. Dr. Barr might well have strengthened her presentation by use of the almanacs of the period, but as it is, her slender volume represents careful labor. A patient study like this adds one more candle to the growing illumination on the spread of rationalism to America.

MICHAEL KRAUS.

Historical Records and Studies. Volume XXXII. THOMAS F. MEEHAN, Editor. (New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, 1941, pp. 138, \$3.00.) The essays published in this volume include: "Sisterhoods in the Spanish American War", by Sister Mary Magdalen Wirmel; "Catholic Training for Maryland Catholics, 1773-1786", by the Rev. Joseph T. Durkin; "A Great Southern Catholic", by Joseph Herman Schauinger; "A Confederate Chaplain's War Journal", by William H. Dodd; "Catholic Navy Chaplains", by Thomas F. Meehan; "A National Brownson Memorial", by M. F. Thomas; "Echoes of the First World War", by J. M. Butler.

Inventory of Church Archives, Society of Friends in Pennsylvania. Prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey, Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration. (Philadelphia, distributed through the Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, and the Friends' Central Bureau, 1515 Cherry Street, 1941, pp. 397, \$2.00.)

Calendar of Joel R. Poinsett Papers in the Henry D. Gilpin Collection. Prepared by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey, Division of Community Service Programs, W. P. A. Edited by GRACE E. HEILMAN and BERNARD S. LEVIN. (Philadelphia, Gilpin Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1941, pp. xvi, 264, \$3.00.)

Guide to the Manuscripts in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina. Prepared by the North Carolina Historical Records Survey Project, Division of Professional and Service Projects, W. P. A. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1941, pp. vii, 204, \$1.25.) The first of these bibliographical guides is a credit to the Friends' Historical Association and to the Pennsylvania Historical Survey of the Work Projects Administration. It is well conceived, complete, and easy to use. The historical sketch on the organization of the Friends by yearly meetings both before and after the Hicksite schism of 1827 is clear and useful. It is such enterprises as this that, historically viewed, constitute one of the very considerable contributions of the W. P. A. to American scholarship and culture. The same acknowledgment is due the two following volumes, which are helpful calendars to two very important sets of historical papers. The calendaring of the Poinsett Papers is so complete as to give a good understanding of this exceptionally able and versatile citizen. The collection of manuscripts in the University of North Carolina has been well known in general to scholars as an important and growing collection because of the devoted labors of J. G. de Rouilhac Hamilton. Its riches are fully documented in this guide.

The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln. Edited, with a Biographical Essay, by PHILIP VAN DOREN STERN. Introduction, "Lincoln in his Writings", by ALLAN NEVINS. [Modern Library Giant.] (New York, Modern Library, 1942 [copyright 1940], pp. 889, \$1.45.)

Calendar of the Writings of Frederick Douglass in the Frederick Douglass Memorial Home, Anacostia, D. C. Prepared by the District of Columbia Historical Records Survey, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. (Washington, Historical Records Survey, 1940, pp. 93, mimeographed.)

The Negro Caravan: Writings by American Negroes. Edited by STERLING ALLEN BROWN and others. (New York, Dryden Press, 1941, pp. 1100, \$4.25.)

Fares, Please! From Horse-Cars to Streamliners. By JOHN ANDERSON MILLER. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1941, pp. xvii, 204, \$3.50.)

The Great Demobilization and Other Essays. By FREDERIC LOGAN PAXSON. With Bibliographies of the Writings of the Author and of his Graduate Students. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1941, pp. 206, \$3.00.) Professor Paxson's authoritative works upon the frontier, the period of the "New Nation", and the first World War will constitute enduring monuments to his thorough and profound scholarship. This collection of his essays, however, will enable the reading public to share with his students and colleagues his best expressions of a most provocative historical philosophy. Though tending toward the objective school, he acknowledges, nevertheless, Clio's genuine concern with historical causation. The papers selected by the editors were written during a span of twenty years, and although titles such as "The Rise of Sport" and "The Great Demobilization" might suggest disparity of interest, seven of the eight disquisitions blend almost perfectly into the author's confession of faith in the frontier hypothesis of Frederick Jackson Turner (see "A Generation of the Frontier Hypothesis"). From the first to the last, each item chosen for this little volume bears the stamp of mature, critical judgment, a creative imagination, and a buoyant style. A touch of stark realism, bordering upon pessimism, has, however, crept into his later dissertations. In "The Agricultural Surplus" he sees no hope for a restoration of the farmer's prosperity. Similarly, his masterly presidential address, "The Great Demobilization", though it need not undermine our determination to win the peace as well as the war, fully apprises America of those forces which a generation ago blighted such hopes. How well the bibliography of Professor Paxson's writings corroborates the frequent admonition to his graduate students that the best research is the product of sustained activity and the exploitation of materials at hand! A list of publications by his students indicates that they responded to his counsel.

HERMAN J. DEUTSCH.

Selected Bibliography of British Government Reports relating to the United States, 1895-1914. Compiled by RICHARD H. HEINDEL. (Philadelphia, the author, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, 1942, pp. 10, mimeographed.)

List of Federal World War Agencies, 1914-20. (Washington, National Archives, 1941, pp. 43, mimeographed.)

National Income and its Composition, 1919-1938. By SIMON KUZNETS, assisted by LILLIAN EPSTEIN and ELIZABETH JENKS. [Publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research.] Two volumes. (New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1941, pp. xxx, 929, \$5.00.)

What America Thinks. Editorials and Cartoons reproduced, with Permission, from American Newspapers. (Chicago, What America Thinks, Inc., 1941, pp. 1495, \$7.50.)

"Smear" Politics: An Analysis of 1940 Campaign Literature. By HUGH A. BONE. Introduction by Senator Guy Gillette. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, pp. 49, \$1.00.)

Documents on American Foreign Relations. Volume III, July, 1940-June, 1941. Edited by S. SHEPARD JONES, Director, World Peace Foundation, and DENYS P. MYERS, Director of Research, World Peace Foundation. (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1941, pp. xl, 805, \$3.75.) Timely and welcome is this convenient source book of contemporary diplomacy, edited by the same trained scholars as its predecessors and giving the dignity of "boards" to what the reader recognizes as current events. Making liberal use of government releases in the *Bulletins* of the Department of State and including also foreign documents as supplementary material, these volumes serve the editor, the publicist, the diplomat. The present volume is concerned with the dying days of a tenuous and hollow peace. Only a few months behind the living present, it concerns a past already remote, Pearl Harbor having inaugurated a new system of chronology. From the voluminous material here presented the reviewer will emphasize just one document, minor, perhaps, in a war of worlds, but significant of a deepening anarchy of hate—namely, notification by Japan of her pending abrogation of the Fur Seal Convention of 1911 (pp. 281-82). This laborious achievement of international decency was to be sacrificed, along with so many other values, to the ruthless calculations of totalitarian ethics. The seals, no longer protected by the convention, find new defenders in the armed forces of the United States. A minor issue in themselves, perhaps, they are symbols of much that must be righted.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS.

My American Diary. By Sir WALTER McLENNAN CITRINE. (Forest Hills, New York, Transatlantic Arts, 1941, pp. 363, \$2.00.)

My Life as an American Jew: An Autobiography. By DAVID PHILIPSON. (Cincinnati, John G. Kidd, 1941, pp. 526, \$3.50.)

America in Fiction: An Annotated List of Novels that interpret Aspects of Life in the United States. By OTIS W. COAN and RICHARD G. LILLARD. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1941, pp. vi, 180, \$1.50.)

ARTICLES

WILLARD CONNELLY. List of Colonial Americans in Oxford and Cambridge. *Am. Oxonian*, Apr.

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The American Revolution: A Symposium. LAWRENCE A. HARPER, Mercantilism and the American Revolution; WINFRED TREXLER ROOT, The American Revolution Reconsidered; O. M. DICKERSON, LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON, Discussion of Professor Harper's and Professor Root's Papers. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Mar.

KENNETH ROSSMAN. Conway and the Conway Cabal. *South Atlantic Quar.*, Jan.

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LOUIS MARTIN SEARS. Democracy as understood by Thomas Jefferson. *Mid-America*, Apr.

ABBOT SMITH. Mr. Madison's War: An Unsuccessful Experiment in the Conduct of National Policy. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June.

SAMUEL C. WILLIAMS. The Lincolns in Tennessee [concl.]. *Lincoln Herald*, Feb.

Abraham Lincoln's Religion: His Own Statement [1846]. *Abraham Lincoln Quar.*, Mar.

- JAMES DOUGLAS ANDERSON. Abraham Lincoln, Demigod [cont.]. *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, Apr.
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- SAMUEL REZNECK. The Influence of Depression upon American Opinion, 1857-1859. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, May.
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- CHARLES MORAN. The Evolution of Caribbean Strategy. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Mar.
- JOHN D. HICKS. Why we fought—A Reconsideration. *Social Educ.*, May.
- CHARLES O. HARDY. Adjustments and Maladjustments in the United States after the First World War. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, Mar. (supplement).
- RICHARD H. HEINDEL. The Defense of American Influence. *Social Stud.*, Feb.
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- PAUL P. CIANGETTI. A Diocesan Chronology of the Catholic Church in the United States. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
- JAMES C. MALIN. Plotting after Harpers Ferry: The "William Handy" Letters. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Feb.

NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Athenæum Gallery, 1827-1873: The Boston Athenæum as an Early Patron of Art. By MABEL MUNSON SWAN. With an Introduction by Charles Knowles Bolton. (Boston, Boston Athenæum, 1940, pp. xiv, 312, \$6.00.) This book offers a great deal of documentary material on the collection, exhibition, and appreciation of art in the Boston of the two middle quarters of the nineteenth century. The Athenæum was the center of such artistic culture there from the foundation of its art gallery in 1827 in Boston, down to the foundation in 1873 of the Museum of Fine Arts, itself partly an offshoot of the Athenæum and repository of the bulk of its collections. Mrs. Swan's book is chiefly in the form of annals—annals of acquisitions, of exhibitions, and of other activities. There is little comparison with parallel developments in other cities, there is little discussion—beyond sporadic *obiter dicta*—of the relation of events to major cultural movements in America or in Europe. There is much raw material for cultural history but little of cultural history itself. To a lamentable degree the author's information is limited to the documents and records of the Athenæum itself, without the corona of knowledge which could have thrown so much additional light on the subjects she touches.

FISKE KIMBALL.

New England's Fishing Industry. By EDWARD ACKERMAN, Harvard University. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. xix, 303, \$4.00.) This is a very valuable record of the New England fishing industry. After two short chapters on the place of fish in New England regional life and general locational factors of fisheries, there are long and detailed chapters on the fishing grounds for

various species under the general headings of cold-water fishes, summer fishes, sessile and near-sessile forms, and on fishing gear. Chapters on man-made limitations on, and regulations of, the New England fisheries and on marketing areas and methods of handling are followed by a detailed description of the economic divisions with their characteristics and locations, including salting, smoking, canning, and fresh and frozen industries with reference to finny fish, lobsters, crabs, oysters, clams, quatraugs, and scallops. Two short chapters on the location of industries related to fishing and social aspects of the New England fisheries complete the book. There are numerous charts referring chiefly to 1935 and 1936, maps, and 122 excellent illustrations. Each chapter has an extensive bibliography, and there is a useful index. From this general account it will be seen that the volume is an excellent example of work in human geography and provides a cross section of a region and an industry. The historian may complain that a single-dimension survey has limitations in its neglect of the time dimension, but he will be forced to concede the numerous advantages of modern technical equipment, especially in photography, with which the geographer is favored. One cannot praise too highly the general appearance of the book.

HAROLD A. INNIS.

Yearbook of the Historical Society of York County for the Year 1941. Prepared and published for Subscribers by the Publication Committee, DONALD H. YOST, GEORGE HAY KAIN, JR., HENRY JAMES YOUNG. (York, Pennsylvania, the Society, 1941, pp. 64.) Besides the annual report of the director there is an extensive collection of "Notes and Documents concerning the Manorial History of the Town of York", with a map of the manorial town.

A History of Western Pennsylvania. By JOHN W. RAY. (Erie, the author, Academy High School, 1941, pp. 374, \$1.50.)

ARTICLES

HAROLD S. JANTZ. German Thought and Literature in New England, 1620-1820. *Jour. Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, Jan.

MARY GREENE NYE. Loyalists and their Property. *Proc. Vermont Hist. Soc.*, Mar.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763. By VERNE E. CHATELAIN. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1941, pp. vii, 192, maps 22, cloth \$2.75, paper \$2.25.) This welcome and valuable work perhaps needs a different title, for it deals almost entirely with St. Augustine and has little to say about the important, though more limited, defense works at Pensacola and San Marcos de Apalache. Within his terms of reference Dr. Chatelain has provided a careful reconstruction of the development of the defenses of St. Augustine—the nine wooden forts of the first hundred years, the building of the great Castillo de San Marcos, and the outposts and lines protecting the approaches to the town. The account is based on published and unpublished documents from the Archivo General de Indias which exist in transcript in the Library of Congress and on contemporary printed works and standard secondary authorities. It gains force from the archaeological excavations which the St. Augustine Historical Program, under Dr. Chatelain's directorship, has carried out, and its detailed conclusions are not likely to be contradicted. In the absence of any modern scholarly account of St. Augustine's history during the first Spanish period, Dr. Chatelain has also included certain introductory chapters of a general character and has brought in a good deal of extraneous material both in his chapters on the defenses themselves and in his extremely lengthy footnotes. This is the least happy part of the book and might have been greatly condensed without serious loss. The author and his publisher are to be particularly commended on the generous endowment of the work with reproductions of eighteen manuscript maps and plans, dating from 1586 to 1791, all taken from photostats in the Library of Congress. CHARLES L. MOWAT.

Texas in 1811: The Las Casas and Sambrano Revolutions. FREDERICK C. CHABOT, Editor. [Yanaguana Society Publications, Volume VI.] (San Antonio, the So-

ciety, 1941, pp. xv, 162, \$2.50.) *Texas in 1811*, edited by Frederick C. Chabot, is a small volume of documents presenting the Casas and Sambrano Revolutions—events which were part of the Mexican Revolution for Independence, as proved by the work of Julia Kathryn Garrett, *Green Flag over Texas*. The foreword, written by the distinguished authority on Latin-American history, Carlos E. Castañeda, develops perspective for the documents and gives the volume background by a summary of the Mexican Revolution. Preceding the documents, ably translated by Chabot and Reginald Carl Reinderp of the Spanish department of the University of Texas, is an introduction in which Chabot relates the historical episode that produced these documents. One chapter reviews Napoleon's activities in the Latin-American insurrection. The second chapter sketches the Mexican Revolution in Texas. This résumé of the Casas and Sambrano Revolutions presents the episode as occurring only in San Antonio and fails to describe the extension of the revolution to other Texas settlements. In relating these events the author would have inspired a greater number of students to read the documents had he used a more stimulating style. One bulky document is omitted, namely, the "Trial of Friar Juan Salazar", *Historia Independientes MS.*, Volume 412, Archivo General y Público de la Nación de México. This document, packed with details of the Texas Revolution, is necessary to complete the account. The best monograph on the Texas Revolution is "The Counter-Revolution of Bexar, 1811", by J. Villasaña Haggard, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, October, 1939, pages 222-25. *Texas in 1811* has value for the research student in that most of the documents dealing with the Texas Revolution, 1811, have been assembled, translated, and placed within one volume.

JULIA KATHRYN GARRETT.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

The Voyageur's Highway: Minnesota's Border Lake Land. By GRACE LEE NUTE, Curator of Manuscripts, Minnesota Historical Society. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1941, pp. xiii, 113, 50 cents.) The unpretentiousness of this volume is its chief merit: adopting the thesis that the "men who opened up this area made history and lived lives that still fascinate", Miss Nute, while essaying no definitive account, nevertheless manages to convey an impression of the abundance of the material that lies beyond. The French, British, and Amer-

ican regimes with reference to this region are traced in outline; vignettes of the more notable of the voyageurs are set down; and the penetration of the three important fur-trading companies—North West, Hudson's Bay, and American Fur—is succinctly discussed. In a section given to a review of the manners and customs of the fur traders there are copious quotations from the songs they sang; and in the essay which Miss Nute calls "An Indian Captive" there is an appreciative footnote to the story of John Tanner. More recent times are treated in a chapter on the logging days that arrived at the turn of the century; and the impress of the Finns and the South Europeans upon the life of the border lakes is suggested in another. Dr. Nute has also included a comprehensive account of the boundary lines and disputes between Canada and the United States as applied to the region under consideration, and in a particularly revealing chapter she writes of its geological history, the drainage basins, rivers, and lakes, the forests, and the mineral resources. Miss Nute has added a valuable bibliography. Many maps and sketches and the design of the book make it an attractive little volume.

KENNETH MUNDEN.

Iowa: The Rivers of her Valleys. By WILLIAM J. PETERSEN. [Iowa Centennial History.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1941, pp. 381, \$3.00.) Dr. Petersen's geographical approach to state history should not be confused with current anecdotal river books or with statistical state guides. His point of view is not antiquarian or parochial; he relates drainage systems to the exploration, settlement, and industrial and cultural growth of the commonwealth as a whole. Such a unity is secured by skillful organization with subordination of detail. Documentation is adequate without being pedantically minute, physiography is described without needless technicalities, and many specific facts are presented without appreciable loss of interest. The detailed sketch maps by Miss Shirley Briggs help definitely to clarify and vivify the narrative.

EARLE D. ROSS.

Organization, Purposes, and Activities of Local Historical Societies in Iowa. Compiled by ETHEL E. MARTIN. [Bulletin of Information Series, No. 16, edited by John E. Briggs.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1941, pp. 38.)

Franciscan Missions of New Mexico, 1740-1760. By HENRY WARREN KELLY. [Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, Volume X.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1941, pp. 94, \$1.50.)

To form a More Perfect Union: The Lives of Charles Francis and Mary Clarke from their Letters, 1847-1871. By HERBERT OLIVER BRAYER. University of New Mexico. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1941, pp. ix, 233, \$3.50.) This slim volume containing 112 letters could be called a collection of pictures of the seamy side of life on the trans-Mississippi frontier, covering a twenty-five-year period from 1847 to 1872. It is tinged with a good deal of mawkish pessimism repetitiously expressed in mid-Victorian phrases and a style characteristic of "the sentimental years", and much of its content becomes wearisome. There is, however, real information to be gleaned from the mass of plaintive correspondence. To this reviewer it appeared that the letters of the exiled Englishman, Captain Charles Francis Clarke, were much more revealing than those of his less educated Irish wife. One could wish, even so, that his letters back to his Suffolk parents had described some of the more striking episodes of his career as a soldier and trader during and just after the Mexican War. His journey to Mexico City is confined to a single paragraph (pp. 16-17), and his Indian trading voyage up the Mississippi is barely mentioned. The rest

of the book, considerably more than half, consists of the long series of dismally complaining—and, one might occasionally suspect, begging—letters written by his widow to her mother-in-law in England, with a few other pieces of correspondence. They end abruptly just before the latter's death in 1873, and the editor, in spite of his almost brilliantly written historical introductions to each of the book's six chapters, has failed to give us any details about the subsequent history of Mary McGowan Clarke and her impoverished existence while trying to rear her five sons in a Kansas prairie town. The volume has real interest and value for its comments, from the viewpoint of poor folk, on the social life of the frontier, the Mexican and Civil Wars, and the days of settlement and railroad building in Kansas.

RUFUS KAY WYLLYS.

Army Life in Dakota. By PHILIPPE REGIS DENIS DE KEREDERN DE TROBRIAND. Translated from the French by GEORGE FRANCIS WILL. Edited by MILO MILTON QUAIFF. [Lakeside Classics.] (Chicago, Lakeside Press, 1941, pp. 422, not for sale.)

Pioneers in American Anthropology: The Bandelier-Morgan Letters, 1873-1883.

By LESLIE A. WHITE, the University of Michigan. [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, edited by George P. Hammond.] Two volumes. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1940, pp. xii, 272, 266, \$10.00 per set.) Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier, born in 1840, was one of that galaxy of Swiss scholars which included the two Agassiz, Albert Gallatin, and Albert S. Gatschet. His earlier years were humdrum and unhappy, for he was forced into business affairs, which he detested. Bandelier, however, found solace in his books, which were his chief companions when each day's work in his father's Illinois bank came to a close. Then in 1873 Bandelier became acquainted with Lewis H. Morgan of Rochester, New York, the first teaching anthropologist in America, who already had laid the foundation of his later wide reputation. From that time Bandelier's life really began, for now he had a sympathetic audience in Morgan, as his correspondence with that scholar reveals, and ultimately the pupil outlasted the master in the permanent results of his scientific endeavors. Bandelier's 158 letters to Morgan (in addition to five addressed to Morgan's wife), dating from December 30, 1873, to June 17, 1881, are revealing indeed, for they not only incorporate many details not included in his scientific reports, chiefly for the Archaeological Institute of America, but they portray his personal character and his intolerant attitude toward many contemporary scholars; indeed few escaped his caustic pen. These strictures would certainly never have been written had Bandelier known that his letters would be published. To those who would follow the development of American anthropology and especially to those more directly interested in the planting of this science in our Southwest and in Mexico, these volumes will be priceless reading. The extended and excellent introduction by Dr. White, the editor of the letters, is an appraisal of Bandelier and of his work that leaves nothing to be desired.

F. W. HODGE.

Indian Agents of the Old Frontier. By FLORA WARREN SEYMOUR. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1941, pp. xi, 402, \$3.50.) Flora Warren Seymour has made a much needed contribution, in this interesting volume, to a field which has been largely neglected by American historians. In her pages there live again the colorful figures of Sir William Johnson, Albert Pike, Kit Carson, General R. H. Pratt, and others who endeavored to carry out their many duties under unusually trying circumstances. Even the casual reader will reach the conclusion

that the author has presented her information in an interesting and readable form. The reviewer is impressed with the frank manner in which the author handles certain controversial subjects. On page 450 she states that the belief of the Indians (of certain tribes) in the ghost dance religion stemmed from their knowledge of Christian ideas and that Hugh L. Scott always believed that, with proper handling, it could have been made the introduction of the race to a real understanding of the Christian religion. The missionaries, he felt, were not awake to the real opportunity given them. The final chapter of this study presents some thought-provoking conclusions which may cause dissent on the part of some of Mrs. Seymour's readers, although many others will concur heartily with her findings. It is regrettable that the bibliographical references are not presented in more usable form. Some of the chapter headings impress the reviewer as being a little unfortunate; it may be, however, that they will pique the interest of the general reader. The illustrations and the neat and dignified format add to the attractiveness of the volume. *Indian Agents of the Old Frontier* is a book which should be placed on the shelves of both individual and public libraries. It deserves the careful reading and serious consideration of all students who are interested in the field covering the relationship of the Federal government to the Indian.

JAMES W. MOFFITT.

The History of Saint Thomas Parish, Ann Arbor. By LOUIS WILLIAM DOLL. (Ann Arbor, Saint Thomas Parish, 1941, pp. vi, 291, \$2.50.)

The University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey. In nine parts. WILFRED B. SHAW, Editor. Part I, *History and Administration*. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1941, pp. 227, xx, \$1.50.) The University of Michigan celebrated its centennial in 1937. If any state university deserves adequate historical treatment, it is the institution in Ann Arbor. Long the leading state university and a model for others, it still holds a place in the front rank of universities either state supported or privately endowed. For three years a committee planned "an encyclopedic survey" of the university in nine parts. Either more time should have been given to the planning or more time to the preparation of this monograph on history and administration. The organization of the study is a striking demonstration of how not to treat such an organic unit as a state university growing out of the social and economic life of a commonwealth and epitomizing its intellectual and cultural history. One would willingly believe that an alumni committee rather than the distinguished scholars on the staff had conceived and executed it. After a general introductory statement about the feeble attempts to start an institution before 1837, the century since is dismembered into presidential administrations treated by separate writers. These chapters are too often chiefly catalogues of committees, buildings, appointments, resignations, and deaths. The constitutional status which is basic to an understanding of Michigan is given a separate unrelated chapter, likewise other topics such as the university during wars, the regents, etc. It is almost startling, after reading the account of President Angell's long regime, pictured as a peaceful era of unbroken good will, to come on a chapter dealing with a university scandal that ripped the regents, the university staff, the town, the churches, and the state wide open from 1875 to 1881 and left traces of a "feud . . . still visible in Ann Arbor in 1940". A real history of a great state university still remains to be written. It is a matter of regret that the University of Michigan, which best justified such an effort, did not do for itself and its type something comparable to what Morison did for Harvard or Cheyney for Pennsylvania.

GUY STANTON FORD.

Historical Sketch of the University of Cincinnati. By RAYMOND WALTERS, President of the University of Cincinnati. (Cincinnati, University of Cincinnati Bulletin, received 1941, pp. 61, \$1.00.)

Papers of Edward P. Costigan relating to the Progressive Movement in Colorado, 1902-1917. Edited by COLIN B. GOODYKOONTZ, Professor of History, University of Colorado. [University of Colorado Historical Collections, Volume IV, Political Series, Volume I.] (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1941, pp. xiv, 379, \$2.50.) It is becoming increasingly apparent that the publications of the smaller university presses are assuming larger significance in the field of historical scholarship. This is particularly true when, as in the present case, the published material illuminates the local aspects of a broader problem or movement. As the title of the book under review indicates, the contents are illustrative of the Progressive Movement in Colorado, but they also shed light on the more national problems of railroad rate regulation, labor troubles, and the relation of Theodore Roosevelt to the Progressive Movement, 1911-16. The material taken from the Costigan Papers, consisting of addresses, legal briefs, and letters to Colorado leaders and national figures, is supplemented with selected newspaper editorials and news stories. The editing has been carefully done on the basis of principles described clearly in the preface. If there are errors they have escaped the notice of the reviewer. The continuity supplied in brief introductory paragraphs by the editor gives the reader not only a clear impression of "Mr. Costigan's social and political principles" but also an unusually good concept of Costigan the man. It is to be hoped that other volumes in the series will be published under the same editorship.

GEORGE L. ANDERSON.

Oklahoma: A Guide to the Sooner State. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Oklahoma. [American Guide Series.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1941, pp. 468, \$2.50.)

California, a Landmark History: Story of the Preservation and Marking of Early Day Shrines. By JOSEPH R. KNOWLAND. (Oakland, Tribune Press, 1941, pp. xviii, 245, \$3.50.) "A descriptive guide of the significant historic sites and structures in California".

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

J. W. Caughey

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HISTORICAL NEWS

If plans approved by the Board of Editors can be carried through in time, the first issue of Volume XLVIII of the *American Historical Review* (the October number) will appear in a somewhat modified and improved cover, with other consequent changes in paper and typographical details.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, which had been temporarily closed to the public, has been reopened as of June 1. Prospective readers are advised that much of the manuscript material is not available either for research or duplication, by reason of its removal from Washington as part of the precautionary measures for the better protection of cultural resources. It will probably remain inaccessible for the duration. It is therefore strongly urged that students make inquiry, well in advance of any contemplated visit to Washington, as to the availability of the material desired. The reproductions from European archives, together with much of the other transcript and photocopy material, are available as usual and, except as to microfilm, remain subject to interlibrary loan. The same statement applies in general to the material deposited by and for the Modern Language Association.

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: fifty-five legal documents, mainly deeds and contracts of Great Britain, 1422 to 1715; about 14,000 exposures of microfilm of papers in the Public Record Office, London, England, and Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, Denmark, and other Danish sources, relating to northern European international relations in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries; two Mexican manuscripts concerning (1) a lawsuit involving lands of the cacique of Tepeaca, ca. 1608, and (2) the Cathedral of Puebla in litigation against the Order of Jesuits over payment of tithes, 1664; also a Cuban manuscript consisting of a compendium of royal orders relating to a royal instruction of April 26, 1764; 122 papers of William Pitt Preble (including related papers), 1754 to 1902; four boxes of typewritten transcripts of town records (historical and genealogical) of Poultney, Vermont, with name and place index, September 21, 1761, to 1936; four packages of papers pertaining to the history of grazing, ca. 1770 to 1940, prepared by the Writers' Program (in fifteen states) of the United States Federal Works Agency, Work Projects Administration; Latin-American documents: (1) series of military regula-

tions in Central America, particularly Guatemala, 1777 to 1806, and (2) rules and regulations for the Colegio Seminario Conciliar de San Luis, Quito, Ecuador, September 12, 1853; photostat of a document by W[illiam] A[ugustus] Bowles, director of affairs, Creek Nation, prepared by order of the supreme council of chiefs, requesting the appointment of persons authorized by the Congress of the United States to treat with the chiefs regarding boundaries, October 26, 1791; about 550 papers of John Nicholson and his heirs, relating mainly to land transactions and the settlement of Nicholson's estate in Pennsylvania, 1796 to 1847; three boxes of papers of, and relating to, Samuel Finley Breese Morse, 1816 to 1939 (one box restricted); photostat of a memorial from the citizens of Saint Augustine, Florida, to William P. Duval, governor of Florida, August 20, 1822; two boxes of papers of the American Peace Society (including papers of the New York Peace Society, minutes of the executive committee and directors of the American Peace Society, letters of William Ladd and Elihu Burritt), 1825 to 1896; two boxes of papers by Dr. D. Rufo Manuel Fernandez, archdeacon of the cathedral and professor of physics and chemistry of the Seminario Conciliar y Sociedad Economica del Puerto Rico [original notebooks], pertaining to architecture and higher education, respectively, 1830 to 1855 (both part of the Puerto Rican Memorial Collection); seven papers of William H. Rutherford, second assistant engineer on the U. S. S. *Mississippi*, including three letters from him to Sarah L. Baldwin, written on Perry's expedition to China and Japan, July 8, 1853, November 3, 1853, and March 23, 1854; proceedings of the State Convention of Colored Men, Columbus, Ohio, January 16-18, 1856 (pamphlet of eight pages); 497 papers of Anna L. Dawes (mainly autograph letters from well-known persons), including several letters addressed to her father, Henry Laurens Dawes, 1857 to 1929; photostat of a letter from Abraham Lincoln to E. A. Paine, dated at Springfield, November 19, 1858, and seven affidavits concerning Lincoln's ancestry, 1895 and 1896; three volumes and four loose papers of William M. Collin, including diaries kept as a member of Company B, Fifth Regiment of Volunteers of Wisconsin in the Army of the Potomac, and after his discharge, 1861 to 1864; diary (one volume) of Peter H. Niles, lieutenant in the signal corps service, Massachusetts Infantry, covering activities under General Ambrose E. Burnside, particularly in North Carolina, January 1-October 10, 1862; four boxes of papers of William Tecumseh Sherman, including letters from Ulysses Simpson Grant, 1862 to 1885; one volume of about five hundred letter-press copies of letters sent of Edward L. Hartz, captain and chief assistant quartermaster of the Department of the Cumberland, Chattanooga, Tennessee, May 31 to August 11, 1864; letter from Winfield Scott Hancock to Spence, Richardson, & Thomson, New York, dated at Headquarters, Second Army Corps, July 24, 1864; photostat of a letter from Salmon Portland Chase to Henry Clark, August 26, 1865; twenty-five papers (including twenty-one

clippings) of, and relating to, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1869 to 1911; petition by inhabitants of the village of Candaba, Island of Luzon, Province of Pampanga, Philippine Islands, addressed to the governor general of the islands, November 20, 1899 (contemporary English version prepared by a Filipino), unsigned; ten boxes of papers of the Women's Committee (Mrs. Glen L. Swiggett, organizing secretary) of the Second and Third Pan American Scientific Congresses (including Columbus Day, October 12, 1923), 1915 to 1927; twelve volumes of scrapbooks of materials pertaining to Woodrow Wilson and Edith Bolling Wilson (Mrs. Woodrow Wilson), prepared by John Randolph Bolling, *ca.* October 7, 1915, to November 30, 1938, accompanied by glass photographic plates of contents of scrapbooks numbered 1-5, October 7, 1915, to February 3, 1924 (restricted); one box of papers of, and pertaining to, Harry Micajah Daugherty, many of which relate to Warren Gamaliel Harding, 1916 to 1941 (restricted); five boxes of papers of William Orr concerning his work as educational director of the Young Men's Christian Association in Europe after the World War, 1918 to 1927; eight file drawers of papers of General George S. Simonds, 1918 to 1937; one additional box and one portfolio of papers (manuscripts, type-written documents, newspapers, and clippings) relating to the art of light-color playing or *Nourathur*, by, or collected by, Mary Hallock Greenewalt, November 25, 1918, to May 11, 1941; scrapbook of letters, programs, and other materials pertaining to William Sulzer (governor of New York, representative from New York), 1925 to 1929, including papers relating to the Masonic Order and communication with Alaska; eight letters from Arthur Davison Ficke (American poet and novelist) and Gladys Brown Ficke (Mrs. A. D. Ficke) to John Melville, February 13, 1936, to September 27, 1937, and undated; microfilm of listing for 1940 of current accessions in the depositories of the United States, with index, prepared by United States Federal Works Agency, Work Projects Administration, Historical Records Survey, edited and compiled by Margaret Eliot, 1940-41.

The *Seventh Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States* (pp. 95), recently published, describes the work of the National Archives during the fiscal year 1940-41, including its contributions to the national defense program, its assistance in the various fields of scholarly research, and its services to the general public. Over a hundred accessions of records were made by the National Archives during the quarter ending March 31, 1942, according to *National Archives Accessions* No. 9, the latest quarterly supplement to the *Guide to the Material in the National Archives*. The volume of material covered is the largest ever to be accessioned in a single quarter, and the extreme diversity of research materials included is illustrated in the chronological scope of the material, ranging from original population schedules for the census of 1790, on the one hand, to the records of the Division of Agriculture of the recent National Defense Advisory Commission (a pred-

cessor of the War Production Board), 1939-41, on the other hand. Material on the first World War, which continues to be particularly useful for wartime research, includes War Department records of the Judge Advocate General and of the Inspector General pertaining to the American Expeditionary Forces; Commerce Department files on salvage, merchant marine recruitment, and industrial co-operation; records of the Capital Issues Committee; records of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance; and records of various postwar claims boards of the War and Navy Departments. In response to the research needs of certain war agencies, two analytical lists of material in the National Archives were recently completed, entitled *List of Climatological Records in the National Archives* (pp. lxii, 160) and *Materials in the National Recovery Administration Files of Interest to the Office of Production Management and Other Defense Agencies* (pp. 162), the latter issued in co-operation with the former OPM. The first five numbers in a new series of *Reference Information Circulars*, which describe materials in the National Archives relating to the Philippine Islands (pp. 6), the Southern and Western Pacific areas (pp. 14), France, Belgium, and the Netherlands (pp. 12), the Balkan states (pp. 4), and the Scandinavian countries (pp. 5), have been issued primarily for the guidance of wartime officials engaged in research. Other recent processed documents available include *Historical Units of Agencies of the First World War*, by Elizabeth B. Drewry (pp. 19), and a *Select List of Publications and Processed Documents of the National Archives* (pp. 2).

The Archivist of the United States announced the appointment on March 24 of Ernest R. Bryan as chief of the Division of Information and Publications of the National Archives. Mr. Bryan, since 1938, was in charge of the Radio, Motion Pictures, and Publications Section of the Public Health Service and previously had been connected with the United States Office of Education and the National Education Association. National Archives staff members "drafted" by wartime agencies for the duration of the war include John J. Whelan, serving as chief of the Recording and Historical Section of the War Production Board; Preston W. Edsall, as senior negotiator in the War Transfer Unit of the Civil Service Commission; James R. Mock, as economist in the Bureau of Labor Statistics; Quintin M. Sanger, as assistant organizations analyst in the Special Defense Unit of the Department of Justice; Carey Shaw, jr., as administrative assistant in the library of the United States Information Service; and Helen E. Hunter, as research analyst in the office of the Coordinator of Government Films. Frederick P. Todd, James E. Gibson, and Gerald B. Snedeker have been called to active military service.

Papers recently transferred to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library by the President include White House files of correspondence relating to the following subjects: modification of the Volstead Act and repeal of the Eight-

centh Amendment, 1933, administration of the National Industrial Recovery Act and proposals for its restitution, 1933-37, veterans' compensation legislation, 1933-39, regulation of radio broadcasting, 1933-40, the "pump-priming" program of 1938, and the President's proposal of April 14, 1939, for a European peace. Also received was part of one of the President's personal files consisting of letters received from the general public commenting on the radio addresses made by him from October 23, 1940, to December 9, 1941. Dr. John S. Curtiss, assistant archivist, has been granted leave of absence from the library for the duration of the war to work in the office of the Coordinator of Information, Washington. Dr. Curtiss will serve in the Division of Special Information as an expert on Russian affairs.

Indiana University recently acquired the Oakleaf Lincoln Collection, one of the country's five great Lincoln libraries, which was assembled over a period of forty-three years by the late Judge Joseph B. Oakleaf. Consisting primarily of books and pamphlets relating to Lincoln, the collection contains eight thousand volumes supplemented by photos, etchings, busts, plaques, letters, and medals. Since Judge Oakleaf's death in 1930 his son has kept it up to date. Purchased by the university and the Indiana University Foundation, the Oakleaf Collection will be added to other Lincoln material in the university library and will form a center for Lincoln study. The other outstanding Lincoln collections are the Lincoln Life Library at Fort Wayne, the Illinois State Historical Collection at Springfield, the Brown University Collection, and the Lincoln material at the Huntington Library.

The board of trustees of Washington and Lee University has recently established the Robert E. Lee Archives as a division of the new Cyrus Hall McCormick Library. It is proposed to make these archives a national repository of source material concerning the entire life of Robert E. Lee. Washington and Lee already owns four thousand manuscript items concerning Lee's life, and its collection of Lee books, pamphlets, and pictures is large. The most improved methods of cataloguing manuscripts have been adopted. Dr. Allen W. Moger of the history faculty has been made Lee archivist. A special appeal is made to those possessing letters or other archival material to or from General Lee to communicate with Dr. Moger.

The Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library has just acquired a number of interesting items. Among the manuscripts is a collection of William H. Brearley papers. They contain his correspondence during the Civil War as a member of Company E of the 17th Michigan Volunteers and letters concerning his part in founding the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and the Detroit Museum of Art. The library also acquired the diary of Isaac Burr describing a journey on horseback from New York State to Virginia in the fall of 1805. The Chene estate gave a number of manuscripts of various members of the family dating from 1734

to recent years. A microfilm of the John Francis Hamtramck letters (1792-96), which are in the Anthony Wayne Papers of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, has also been obtained. More additions to Father Gabriel Richard material have been secured by the library through a microfilm of his letters covering the years 1796-1826, the originals of which are in the Cathedral Archives in Baltimore, and a photostat of his memorandum book (1792-1806), which is in the archives of Notre Dame University. Other photostats which Burton has received include the diary of George Washington, October, 1789-March, 1790; excerpts from an orderly book of General James Wilkinson at Detroit, June-September, 1797; and a map of a part of Upper Canada showing lands purchased and proposed to be purchased from the Indians, sent by Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe to Henry Dundas, March 10, 1792.

Columbia University Library is now the owner of one of the largest collections of material relating to the history of the Tammany organization. Edwin P. Kilroe, New York attorney, has presented to Columbia some 71,800 items of Tammany literature and other matter, together with some 30,000 newspaper clippings. The material dates from 1770. Mr. Kilroe has been assembling the collection for thirty-seven years.

The library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has now secured a collection of important letters, documents, manuscripts, copies of letters, pamphlets, broadsides, and other written and printed material pertaining to the bankruptcy of Jay Cooke, "Financier of the Civil War". The material is of the period 1870-90 and consists of 3,800 items. Four years ago the society obtained a collection of 2,200 items of Jay Cooke material pertaining primarily to his Western land transactions and his Ohio interests.

Governor John W. Bricker has recently appointed an Ohio War History Commission to serve as a central agency for the preservation of war records in that state. Dr. Carl Wittke, Oberlin College, is chairman, and Dr. William D. Overman is executive secretary. Headquarters will be at the Ohio State Museum, where Dr. Overman is curator of history and archivist.

At the request of President Roosevelt a committee of prominent administrators and scholars has been established to supervise the collection of current war administration records, according to Harold D. Smith, director of the Bureau of the Budget. The membership of this Committee on Records of War Administration, announced by Director Smith, will include Professor Arthur Schlesinger, president of the American Historical Association; Louis Brownlow, president of the American Society for Public Administration; Professor William Anderson, president of the American Political Science Association; and Dr. Waldo Leland, director of the American Council of

Learned Societies. Dr. Solon Buck, head of the National Archives, will serve on the committee, and the Library of Congress and the Office of Facts and Figures will be represented by Archibald MacLeish. A small staff of analysts will be directed by Dr. Pendleton Herring, secretary of the Graduate School of Public Administration at Harvard University, who has been working on the problem within the Bureau of the Budget since last fall. Lack of information on the administrative problems of the last war and the loss of valuable documents at that time, handicapping the present war administration, are cited among the reasons for the project. Current activities will be systematically recorded so that present experience may be utilized in postwar administration. The records will also be organized to aid present administrative efforts.

Preservation in microfilm of the literary and historical treasures of England is assured by a project now under way, financed by a \$170,000 appropriation from the Rockefeller Foundation. According to the annual report, recently issued by Raymond B. Fosdick, president of the foundation, the fund is being used by the American Council of Learned Societies in copying books and documents in the British Museum, Public Records Office, Oxford and Cambridge libraries, and other places in England. Duplicate copies of each microfilm reproduction will be deposited in the Library of Congress and in Great Britain. The subjects covered include American and English history, literature, and philology; legal, scientific, and medical history; medieval and classical studies; Slavic and Oriental studies; fine arts and music. The original documents being photographed date back eight hundred years or more, as in the case of the London Public Records Office indexes. The records will be reproduced on 16 mm. film, 100 feet of which can record 1,600 pages and yet be carried in a vest pocket.

The Committee on Microphotography of the Philadelphia Bibliographical Center and Union Library Catalogue has issued a compilation entitled *Union List of Microfilms: A Basic List of Holdings in the United States and Canada*. This list, comprising more than five thousand items, most of them rare and some unique, has been made possible by the contributions received from nearly every important library in the country. Journals, manuscripts, and newspapers, as well as books, are included. The list should be useful not only to libraries but also to individual scholars, especially persons working in the fields of American history—particularly local history—language, literature and literary history, and music. Although no definite plans have yet been made, it is hoped that it may be possible to prepare annual supplements to the *Union List of Microfilms*, and that the first may be ready for publication some time before the end of 1942. It is important, therefore, that libraries inform the committee promptly of their new accessions. All communications should be addressed to the Committee on

Microphotography, Philadelphia Bibliographical Center and Union Library Catalogue, Fine Arts Building, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Dr. Oscar Halecki, the well-known Polish historian, is the first president of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences, inaugurated with appropriate exercises on May 15 in New York City. Among the American historians elected to membership are Professors Robert J. Kerner, H. H. Fisher, and William L. Westermann. The following were chosen corresponding members: Michael Karpovich, Miecislaus Haiman, Frank Nowak, S. H. Thomson, Philip E. Mosely. The headquarters of the institute are at 36 East Thirty-sixth Street, New York City.

The American Oriental Society held a centenary celebration meeting on April 7-10 at Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts. The program included general sessions and sectional meetings.

The annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was held at Cordell on April 20. Dr. E. E. Dale of the University of Oklahoma addressed the society on "The Opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Country", while Victor Murdock of Wichita, Kansas, spoke on "Reminiscences of South-western Oklahoma". The collections of the society have been enriched, among other things, by the following gifts: the Spiro Collection, consisting of relics of the prehistoric inhabitants of Oklahoma, including photographs showing excavations and anthropological remains; Choctaw manuscripts; and files of early Arkansas and Oklahoma newspapers.

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Missouri was held on April 20 at Columbia. The principal address was made by Dr. J. Christian Bay, librarian of the John Crerar library, Chicago, on "Western Life and Western Books". Dr. Isidor Loeb was honored with a special gift in recognition of his forty-four years of service to the society.

The seventeenth annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America was held in Boston on April 24 and 25. In conjunction with this meeting a concert, presented by members of the Longy School of Music, was given in the Germanic Museum of Harvard University (Cambridge) on April 23. Devoted to the music of the Middle Ages, the program included Gregorian chant, monophonic secular music (music of the troubadours, trouvères, and minnesingers), and polyphonic music from 1200 to 1450.

At a meeting of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania held in Pittsburgh on April 28; Mr. Wesley L. Bliss gave an illustrated lecture on "The Newly Unearthed Remains of Fort Pitt", and Dr. Sylvester K. Stevens, historian of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, led a panel discussion on "How the Historical Society may Best serve the Public".

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its thirty-fifth annual meeting at Lexington, Kentucky, on May 7, 8, and 9. The program was well planned, and a number of the sessions were of more than usual interest. The four or five papers that dealt in different sessions with agricultural economic history were excellent illustrations of the trends in that field pointed out by Professor Heaton in his article in this issue. In a lively session on the oft recurring theme of book reviewing the reviewers and editors of historical periodicals were put on the defensive as usual. At the subscription dinner Professor H. C. Peterson gave a well-received address on "Propaganda in War Time". The treatment was boldly prescriptive of procedure for the present situation rather than historical. The presidential address by Professor Arthur C. Cole was on the theme, "The Puritans and Fair Terpsichore". Professor Charles H. Ambler of West Virginia University was elected president for the ensuing year.

The annual meeting of the Agricultural History Society was held on May 19 in Washington, D. C. Professor Harry J. Carman of Columbia University gave his presidential address on "Jesse Duell—Early Nineteenth Century Agricultural Reformer".

The first issue of the *Inter-American Monthly* appeared in April. It is edited at 1200 National Press Building, Washington, D. C., by John I. B. McCulloch, former editor of *Pan American News* (a Foreign Policy Association publication) and the *Inter-American Quarterly*; the *Inter-American Monthly* will absorb both of these publications. It will be devoted to reporting, analyzing, and interpreting Latin-American events, trends, and developments.

The *American Journal of Sociology* (5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois) published in May a special issue on "Recent Social Changes". The studies were made under the direction of the well-known sociologist, Dr. William Fielding Ogburn, and should be valuable to students of contemporary society. This special issue is available at the price of \$1.00 post paid.

Anyone interested in measuring the fairness of the appraisal of the Rugg textbooks through excerpts made by the "expert" of the National Association of Manufacturers may secure for the asking a pamphlet on the controversy. It is an analysis of the five texts by five well-known scholars and is printed and supplied by the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, 519 West 121st Street, New York City.

In view of the approach of the sesquicentennial (1946) of Tennessee's statehood, the Tennessee Historical Commission, inactive for some time, has been reorganized, with Judge Samuel C. Williams of Johnson City as chairman. By the Code of Tennessee the sum of \$10,000 per annum is appropriated for the use of the commission in carrying on the historical activities

of the state. One particularly gratifying outcome has been the inauguration, in co-operation with the Tennessee Historical Society, of a historical journal, entitled *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*. The editorship of the *Quarterly* has been entrusted to the capable hands of Dr. William C. Binkley of Vanderbilt University, and the first number appeared in March.

The North Carolina Historical Commission announces the publication of a *Chart showing Origin of North Carolina Counties*, by D. L. Corbitt of the staff of the historical commission and L. Polk Denmark of the staff of the State Highway and Public Works Commission; and a pamphlet, *Money Problems of Early Tar Heels*, by Mrs. Mattie Erma Parker, collector for the Hall of History. Both publications are free upon application.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture has issued *Some Landmarks in the History of the United States Department of Agriculture* (January, 1942, pp. 94), by T. Swan Harding, and *Price Administration, Priorities, and Conservation affecting Agriculture in the United States, in 1917-18* (November, 1941, pp. 16), by Arthur G. Peterson, being Nos. 2 and 3, respectively, of the Agriculture History Series.

The Royal Society of Arts, London, has issued *Colonial Williamsburg: How Americans handle a Restoration*, a paper read before the society on March 18 by Alfred C. Bossom, F.R.I.B.A., M.P.

The De Hostos Centenary Commission of Puerto Rico announces the issue of the *Indice hemero-bibliográfico de Eugenio María de Hostos, 1863-1940*, a volume of 753 pages, bound in cloth, printed by Cultural, S. A., Havana, Cuba. This important work will be distributed free, provided prospective recipients agree to pay for the transportation charges. Owing to present conditions, the book must be sent by air express, insured, from San Juan to Miami at a cost of \$1.69; from Miami to any point on the continent, by railway express. Those interested are asked to consult their express agents and remit the necessary amount for both stages. Charges on the book, packed for shipping, must be figured on 3 lb. weight.

The following Guggenheim fellowships have been awarded for research in historical and related subjects: Hans Baron, Queens College, the preparation of a work to be entitled "Humanism and the City State", a study on thought and society and their interrelations in the early Renaissance in Florence; Lewis Perry Curtis, Yale University, the preparation for publication of a collection of letters illustrative of institutions at work in eighteenth century England; John Dos Passos, Provincetown, a life of Thomas Jefferson (renewal); Vincent Joseph Flynn, College of St. Thomas, to prepare for publication a manuscript important for the history of the English Renaissance and of Anglo-Italian relations in the last half of the fifteenth century;

Michael Ginsburg, University of Nebraska, the social policy of the Roman emperors (renewal); Alfred Whitney Griswold, Yale University, the political significance of American agriculture, especially a study of the influence of agrarianism on the history, political institutions, and national economic policies of the United States; Einar Ingvald Haugen, University of Wisconsin, the linguistic experiences and behavior of Norwegian immigrants in the United States, with special reference to the historical, social, and cultural processes of immigrant life; Jack H. Hexter, Queens College, the interregnum in England; Francis Rarick Johnson, Stanford University, scientific thought and activity in Elizabethan England, with special emphasis on the relation of science to the other intellectual and material concerns of that age; George Norbert Kates, Washington, the preparation of a book on the Imperial Lakes in Peking, being a study of the court life of old China through eight centuries; Mrs. Helen Sullivan Mims, Bronxville, the democratic tradition in Spain (renewal); Gustavus Myers, New York City, the sources of bigotry in the United States (renewal); Edmund Taite Silk, Yale University, an edition of Nicholas Trivet's commentary on Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*; Robert Sidney Smith, Duke University, the gild merchant in colonial Mexico (1594-1826); Frank H. Underhill, University of Toronto, the career of the Canadian statesman, Edward Blake (1833-1912); Dixon Wecter, University of California at Los Angeles, the Roosevelt family in America: a record of American activity and public life as mirrored in one family since 1638; and Saul S. Weinberg, Institute for Advanced Study, comparative archaeological studies of the Aegean region and the Near East in the Neolithic Period and Early Bronze Age (renewal).

The annual award of the Pulitzer Prize in history went this year to Margaret Leech for her volume, *Reveille in Washington, 1860-1865*, and in biography to Forrest Wilson for his life of Harriet Beecher Stowe under the title *Crusader in Crinoline*.

Two of the three Knopf fellowships for 1942 go to workers in the field of history: Miss Angie Debo of Marshall, Oklahoma, is to complete her story of a typical Oklahoma town from its settlement through present times, and Russel Blaine Nye of Michigan State College is working on a biography of George Bancroft.

The Royal Historical Society has announced the award of the Alexander Prize for 1942 to F. L. Carsten for his essay on "Medieval Democracy in the Brandenburg Towns, its Struggles, and its Ultimate Defeat in the Fifteenth Century". Essays submitted in competition for the prize to be awarded in 1943 must be sent in by February 28. For further particulars apply to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, London, S. W. 10.

PERSONAL

Dr. Charles H. McCarthy, who had held the Knights of Columbus Professorship in American History at the Catholic University of America, died on December 22 at the age of eighty-one. Largely by his own efforts rather than formal training he prepared for graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania, where he took his doctor's degree in 1898. His thesis in expanded form was published as *Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction* (New York, 1901) and still holds a place in the literature of the period. His numerous historical articles were chiefly in Catholic historical periodicals. In 1923 he was president of the American Catholic Historical Association. An impressive lecturer and devoted teacher, the roster of his former students contains many names prominent in every activity of the Catholic Church.

Dr. Lida Lee Tall died in Baltimore on February 21. Miss Tall was well known for her active interest in the field of methods of teaching history both in secondary schools and in teacher training institutions. She was for years a leader in the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland. To the historical profession at large she was best known as a collaborator with Professors C. M. Andrews and J. M. Gambrill in publishing in 1910 the useful *Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries*. She retired in 1938 after eighteen years' service as president of Towson (Maryland) State Teachers College.

Members of the American Historical Association who had occasion to visit the offices of this *Review* during the years 1925-29 will recall the gracious and able assistant to Dr. Jameson, Miss Marguerite McKee, and learn with regret of her death on February 24. Miss McKee, a graduate of Smith College, B. A. 1920 and M. A. 1922 with high honors, went from the service of the *Review* to an assistant professorship at Wells College and later joined the staff of Hunter College, where she was on permanent appointment at the time of her death. She was the author of a monograph in the Smith College Studies in History on *The Ship Subsidy Question in United States Politics* (1922) and of a series of articles on the service of supply in the War of 1812 published in the *Quartermaster Review* in 1927.

Notice has been received of the death of two life members of the American Historical Association: William Fortune of Indianapolis and Mrs. Annie M. L. Sioussat of Baltimore; and of Gustave Anjou, genealogist, of New York City.

Percy Alvin Martin, professor of history in Stanford University, died at Laguna Beach, California, on March 8 after an illness of nearly a year. A graduate of Stanford, he had been a member of its faculty for more than thirty years. He had studied at the Universities of Paris, Leipzig, and Berlin, as well as at Harvard University, where his field of concentration

was medieval history and where he was awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy in 1912. His first teaching at Stanford was in European history, but in 1913 he turned all of his attention to studies and courses in Latin America. He became one of the pioneers in the thorough and comprehensive presentation of Latin America to students, scholars, and citizens in the United States. He traveled widely in Latin America, as he had in Europe, and he used all of this experience effectively in his teaching. He served as a visiting member of faculties in history in the National University of Mexico, the University of British Columbia, and the University of Hawaii, as well as at George Washington University and the Universities of Michigan and California. He served as Albert Shaw Lecturer in Diplomatic History at the Johns Hopkins University in 1921, and these lectures appeared as *Latin America and the War* in 1925. With H. G. James he published *The Republics of Latin America*; among his other publications was *Simon Bolivar the Liberator*; and he edited *Formação Historica do Brasil*. This signified his concentration of interest, for his early publication of a paper on "Causes of the Collapse of the Brazilian Empire" had brought him wide recognition at home and abroad. He was honored by election to sixteen Spanish and Latin-American historical societies. He planned and edited the monumental *Who's Who in Latin America*. This was an expression both of his keen interest in people and his fervent belief that permanent good came from full knowledge. A cosmopolite in interest and an internationalist in feeling, he carried everywhere a fine and buoyant Americanism and won friends for himself, for his university, and for his country.

Dr. R. W. Chambers, for thirty-seven years a member of the faculty of University College, London, died on April 23. Although his chief interest and major publishing activity dealt with literature and the history of the English language, he was known to students of English history for a volume on *England before the Norman Conquest* (1926) and a biography of Thomas More (1935).

Charles Seignobos, known to generations of American scholars for his many useful works in modern European history and one of the most eminent of French historians, died in Brittany in the last days of April in his eighty-eighth year. Seignobos was born on September 10, 1854, at Lamastre in the Ardèche and received his education in the Lycée of Tournon and at the École Normale in Paris, becoming successively *agrégé* in history and *docteur ès lettres*. After a professorship in Lyons he was appointed to the University of Paris, where, in 1890, he was named professor of modern history in the Sorbonne, a post which he held until he became professor emeritus in 1927. His historical work was largely in the form of general treatises or manuals, such as *Histoire de la civilisation* (1886), *Histoire des peuples de l'Orient* (1890), *Histoire politique de l'Europe contemporaine*

(1897), *Histoire de la France de 1848 à 1914* (in Lavissee, *Histoire de France*), *Histoire de la Russie* (1931-32, with Paul Miliukov and L. Eisenmann), *Histoire sincère de la nation française* (1933), *Histoire comparée des peuples de l'Europe* (1938). Especially familiar to American students of the early part of the century were his *Introduction aux études historiques* (1897) and *La méthode historique appliquée aux sciences sociales* (1901), as well as the English translation, *A Political History of Europe since 1814*, edited by S. M. Macvane, which served as a text in many of our college classes. In his introduction to the translation, Macvane dwelt on the characteristic qualities of Seignobos's work: "capacity for seizing on the decisive events of recent European history, a skill in using one event to explain another, steady interest in the welfare of the common mass of men, thorough freedom from national or other prejudice". Many American students followed the lectures of Seignobos at the Sorbonne, which were marked by the utmost clarity, by vivacity, by suggestiveness, and also, it must be confessed, by a rapid delivery that was the despair of listeners whose aural command of French was inadequate. He was friendly and companionable, and at his weekly *salon* in the rue des Écoles one was sure to encounter many former students, numbers of whom had achieved distinction in public life. He was especially devoted to the Société d'Histoire Moderne, of which he was president and honorary president, and whose Sunday morning meetings around the green baize-covered table in the rue de la Sorbonne he attended with faithful regularity, taking part in the very excellent and usually animated discussions that always followed the customary paper.

On May 6 Clyde Leclare Grose, William Smith Mason Professor of History and chairman of the history department at Northwestern University, died at his home in Evanston, Illinois, aged fifty-three years. Mr. Grose received his A. B. degree from Findlay College in Ohio. He then studied at Harvard University, where he received the degree of doctor of philosophy in 1918. During the World War he served as a second lieutenant in the United States Army. Following the war he held a traveling fellowship, 1919-20, and carried on research in Great Britain and on the Continent. He visited England and the Continent several times later, attending the International Congress of Historical Sciences at Warsaw and again at Zurich. Mr. Grose began his teaching career in a high school in Spencer, Iowa, where he remained for two years. While at Harvard he served as an assistant in history. It was from this post that he came to Northwestern University in 1916. His years at Northwestern were marked with distinction. For eight years he directed the summer session. Mr. Grose was best known for his *Select Bibliography of British History, 1660-1760* (1939). To the preparation of this admirable work he devoted years of patient and highly intelligent labor. At the time of its appearance the comment in this periodical closed with this tribute: "Apart from the limitations of its scope [1660-1760], the

reviewer is aware of no other bibliography likely to be used with greater satisfaction by students of history." Mr. Grose was engaged on further bibliographical research when he became seriously ill. He was especially interested in completing an account of "British Travellers Abroad". For more than twenty-five years as a teacher, administrator, and scholar he exerted a real influence on his students and colleagues. He contributed many articles to learned journals, served on various committees, and was prominent in the councils of the American Association of University Professors.

Professor Alfred Francis Pribram died at Kew, Surrey, England, on May 7. Born in London in 1859 but educated at Vienna, where he taught a whole generation of students as professor of modern history from 1894 to 1930, he was interested in British diplomatic history, as indicated by his Ford Lectures at Oxford, *England and the International Policy of the European Great Powers, 1871-1914* (1931). He also wrote numerous articles in successive editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. His main interest, however, was in German diplomatic history, in his earlier years in that of the second half of the seventeenth century, and in later life in that of the pre-World War period. In both fields he was active as editor of documents and as historian. In the earlier period he contributed Austrian material to the *Urkunden und Aktenstücke* of the history of the Great Elector and edited the *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopold I an den Grafen Fr. E. Pötting, 1662-73* (1903). Parallel with this documentary material he published several meticulous diplomatic studies: *Österreich und Brandenburg, 1685-86* (2 vols., 1884); *Zur Wahl Leopold I, 1654-58* (1888); *Beitrag zur Geschichte des Rheinbundes* (1888); and the biography of *Franz Paul, Freiherr von Lisola, 1613-1674* (1894). At the close of the World War Professor Pribram was granted full access to the secret papers of the Austrian archives of even the most recent period. This enabled him to write the new diplomatic history for which he is best known in the United States. His *Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1879-1914* (German, English, and French editions, 1919-23), with texts and commentary, gave for the first time the full details of the Triple Alliance and its successive renewals. In co-operation with Professors Srbik, Bittner, and Uebersberger, he edited the great nine-volume collection of Austrian Diplomatic Documents for the years 1908-14 and gave a popular summary of the material in *Austrian Foreign Policy, 1908-18* (1923). After trying experiences following the Nazi entry into Vienna he was finally able to join his son in England. He had just finished, the day before his last illness, the manuscript of a volume he had been preparing. Naturally enough Professor Pribram's point of view was Austrian, but he was relatively unbiased in comparison with other historians of the bitterly vexed question of war responsibility. He welcomed discussion with those who held opposing views, and he enriched the subject by publishing much documentary material upon which others could form their opinions. Inciden-

tally, in 1918, turning aside from his special interests, he published two volumes of *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien*. In the United States Professor Pribram was much beloved by many scholars who had either studied under him at the University of Vienna or who had met him during the years 1926-28, when he gave the Lowell Lectures in Boston and taught at Stanford and Harvard. He served for several years following 1924 as the Austrian representative of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund. In this capacity he selected and sent to the United States young scholars in the fields of history and the social sciences.

On May 9, less than one week after his life of Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Crusader in Crinoline*, had received the Pulitzer award in biography, Forrest Wilson died at his home in Weston, Connecticut. Mr. Wilson was fifty-nine years old. His writing previous to his venture into biography had been chiefly as a European correspondent, a novelist, and a dramatist. Following the first World War, in which he was a captain in chemical warfare service, he assisted Benedict Cromwell of the War Department in compiling six volumes, *How America went to War*, a history of American industry in the World War.

Dr. Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, professor emeritus and former head of the department of classics in New York University, died at his home in Columbia, South Carolina, on May 15. Well known as a classicist and archaeologist, in which fields he was productive and honored at home and abroad, Dr. Magoffin was a member of the American Historical Association and the author of a volume on *The Roman Forum* and a text in *Ancient and Medieval History*. He also translated Grotius's *Freedom of the Seas* and Bynkershoek's *The Sovereignty of the Sea*.

The distinguished Polish-born anthropologist, Bronislaw K. Malinowski, who had just been appointed to a permanent professorship at Yale University, died suddenly on May 16 in New Haven. The emphasis in his publications throughout a brilliant and productive scholarly career was upon cultural anthropology and the interrelation of the social sciences. For historians there was always something suggestive in his studies of human culture and institutions and the impact on the culture of primitive peoples of contact with more advanced peoples.

Alfred Cardinal Baudrillart, a member of the French Academy and twice awarded the Grand Prix Gobert, died in Paris on May 18 at the age of eighty-three. An indefatigable worker and a prolific writer, he was best known to historians for his five volumes on *Philippe V et la cour de France d'après des documents inédits tirés des archives espagnoles de Simancas et d'Alcala de Hénarès et des Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères à Paris* (Paris, 1890-1901).

Dr. Jonathan French Scott, assistant professor of history at New York University since 1929, died in Yonkers, New York, on May 30. Dr. Scott was born in 1882. He received his bachelor's and master's degrees from Rutgers University, of which his father was tenth president. He received his doctor's degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1913. He taught at the University of Michigan and the University of Rochester. From 1924 to 1926 he studied and traveled in Europe to prepare himself better in his chosen field of modern European history. He had been on the staff of New York University since 1927. He was the author, among other volumes, of *Patriots in the Making* (1916), *The Menace of Nationalism* (1926), and *The Twilight of the Kings* (1938). In collaboration with A. Baltzly he edited *Readings in European History since 1814*, and with Hyma and Noyes, *Readings in Medieval History*.

Dr. Carlton J. H. Hayes, Seth Low Professor of History at Columbia University, was nominated by President Roosevelt to be ambassador to Spain and has arrived in Madrid to take up his duties. He fills the vacancy caused by the retirement for reasons of ill health of Alexander W. Weddell.

Dr. John D. Hicks, who has been professor of history at the University of Wisconsin since 1932, has accepted appointment as Alexander F. Morrison Professor of American History and American Citizenship at the University of California in Berkeley.

In recognition of the studies in Latin-American history directed by Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale University, the title of his professorship has been changed to Farnum Professor of Diplomatic History and Inter-American Relations.

Professor Oron James Hale has been appointed acting director of the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia, succeeding Professor Hardy Cross Dillard.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *Allegheny College*, Paul B. Careo to be assistant professor; *Amherst College*, Alfred F. Havighurst to be associate professor; *California Institute of Technology*, J. E. Wallace Sterling to be associate professor; *University of Chicago*, J. Fred Rippey to be acting chairman of the department for the summer quarter 1942, W. T. Hutchinson to be acting chairman for the year 1942-43, James Lea Cate to be associate professor, and Hugh M. Cole to be assistant professor; *Colgate University*, Charles R. Wilson to be chairman of the department; *University of Colorado*, Earl Swisher to be associate professor; *Columbia University*, J. Bartlet Brebner to be professor and Dwight C. Miner to be assistant professor; *University of Connecticut*, Reinhold August Dorwart and George Edgar McReynolds to be associate professors; *Harvard University*, Crane Brinton, Paul H. Buck, and Charles H. Taylor to be

professors; *Lehigh University*, George Dewey Harmon to be professor; *University of Maryland*, Bernard J. Holm to be assistant professor; *Michigan State College*, Harold B. Fields and Madison A. Kuhn to be assistant professors; *University of Pennsylvania*, Richard H. Heindel to be assistant professor; *Princeton University*, Joseph R. Strayer to be Henry Charles Lea Professor of History and chairman of the department; *Purdue University*, H. H. Wikel to be professor; *University of Rochester*, Glyndon G. Van Deusen to be associate professor; *Sweet Briar College*, Eva M. Sanford to be associate professor; *Vassar College*, Geneva Drinkwater to be associate professor and Kenneth W. Porter to be assistant professor; *Wesleyan University*, Alexander Thomson to be professor and S. H. Brockunier to be associate professor; *Williams College*, Arthur H. Buffinton to be professor; *Yale University*, Leonard Woods Labaree to be professor.

To the list of visiting professors and instructors for the current summer sessions given in our last issue (p. 726) should be added the following: *City College* (New York), Walter C. Barnes; *Colorado State College of Education*, Harry Elmer Barnes and Frank G. Williston; *Cornell*, Charles G. Griffin; *Harvard*, Hans Kohn, for the first term; *Michigan*, Milton Muelder; *Michigan State College*, Ernest G. Hildner and Harold M. Vinacke, for the first term; *Ohio State*, Ray A. Billington; *Virginia*, R. M. Christian.

Richard G. Salomon has been appointed professor at Kenyon College; Walter C. Barnes is to lecture at Wellesley College during the coming academic year.

The following staff members are on leave of absence for service with the armed forces of the United States: *University of California* (Berkeley), Woodbridge Bingham; *Colgate University*, Douglas K. Reading and Howard D. Williams; *Fordham University*, Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan; *University of Michigan*, Robert H. McDowell; *University of Oregon*, Harold J. Noble; *University of Texas*, Robert C. Cotner; *University of Virginia*, Samuel Davis, Thomas Cary Johnson; *University of Washington*, W. Stull Holt.

Professor Paul Birdsall of Williams College is on leave of absence for special service to the government in Washington; Professor Thomas E. Ennis of West Virginia University is on leave for service with the War Department in Washington.

Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton, Sather Professor of History, Emeritus, in the University of California, returned to full academic duty during the past semester and will continue on duty in 1942-43.

Miss Hilda Johnstone, professor of history at the University of London since 1922 and well known for her work in the medieval field, retired this June as professor emeritus.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In my recent review of G. G. Coulton, *Studies in Medieval Thought* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1942, p. 572), I referred to "the late Professor Coulton". Having learned that the information I received in late December, from what seemed to be reliable authority, has turned out to be "greatly exaggerated rumor", I wish to correct the error.

In sincere repentance, standing at my Canossa, I publicly acknowledge the sin of trusting rumor. I am very happy that Professor Coulton can continue to give us his vivid portrayals of life in the Middle Ages.

University of Wisconsin.

GAINES POST.

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